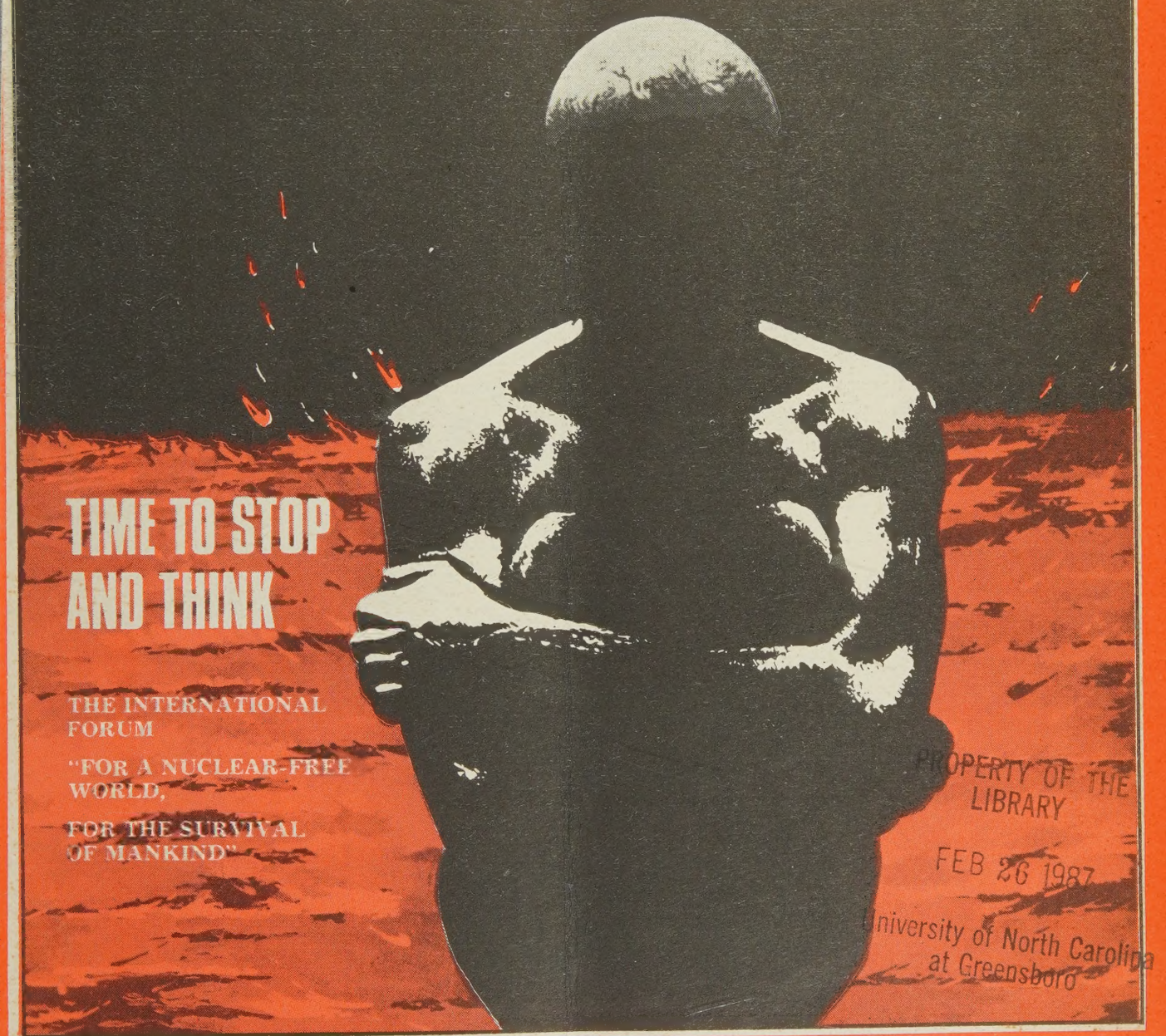
A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

U.S.S.R.:
GREAT TASK – RECONSTRUCTION,
THE KEY – DEMOCRATIZATION

NEW TIMES



TIME TO STOP AND THINK

THE INTERNATIONAL FORUM

"FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD,
FOR THE SURVIVAL OF MANKIND"

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FATEFUL DECISION OF 37 YEARS AGO

TOKYO'S SHOWCASE– THE GINZA

1917–1987

In the early 1920s few in the West believed that the Soviet land had a future.

Even the great English writer H.G. Wells who visited Moscow at that time saw only a "Russia in the shadows." Most factories in those days stood idle, fuel was scarce, and heavily frosted windows of houses looked out on unlit streets.

The seven preceding years had wrecked the economy.

Industrial production in 1920 was no more than 14 per cent of what backward tsarist Russia produced in 1913. For metal output—incredible though it seems today!—the country had been thrown back to the time of Peter I. The state of the transport system threatened to paralyze economic life. Poverty and want was the lot of the peasantry. Several provinces were in the grip of famine.

Where to begin, how to survive?

We began with what was most vital and urgent: the building of a power industry essential for a strong national economy. How long would that take? Going by ordinary standards, 50 to 100 years. Far too long. By the standards of the revolution it had to be done in one or two five-year-plan periods.

And so, power first and foremost.

The idea of electrification of the country had been advanced two years earlier, and something had been started, but war interfered. Early in 1920 the state commission for the electrification of Russia (GOELRO) got down to work. Within 10 to 15 years 30 electric power stations with a total capacity of 1.5 million kilowatts were to be built. This would raise industrial output 80-100 per cent as compared with the prewar level. It was the first long-range national economic plan.

Lenin called the GOELRO plan the Party's second programme. In it electrification was defined as the material, economic foundation for the building of communism.

With spade and hammer the people set to work. Demobilization of the army was announced in December 1920, and

two years later the Kashira hydroelectric station, the first under the plan, was in operation at 12,000-kilowatt capacity to meet the needs of Moscow. It was followed by the Volkhov station, and soon the Petrograd Krasny Putilovets and the Kharkov locomotive works turned out the first 400 tractors. More and more electric lights went on, bringing Russia out of the shadows.

The country where the railway tracks had been overgrown with weeds and locomotives stood rusting on sidings was launched on the road to the future—to lunokhods, satellites and spaceships.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
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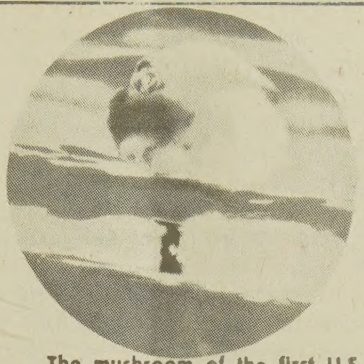

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What is the U.S. after: space shield or space sword? Why isn't the Soviet Union creating its own SDI? Interview with ROALD SAGDEYEV, member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and director of its Space Research Institute

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ed the idea from our press. We in this country followed the public discussion of the plans for a Victory Monument on the Poklonnaya Gora in Moscow displayed at Moscow's Manège Exhibition Hall. This is a good example of openness, and good example is infectious.

So much for the "Soviet example" in the broad sense.

We are closely watching various aspects of the Soviet domestic scene, particularly the programme of accelerated development and the restructuring of the economic mechanism, self-financing and self-management, and the forthcoming nationwide discussion of the draft Law on Socialist Enterprise.

The Czechoslovak economy is facing the third major economic reform since 1948. Experiments are being carried out to test its main principles. Our government has taken several measures to improve the quality of goods along the same lines as in the U.S.S.R. We are encouraging socialist enterprise and initiative. In effect, it can be said that the economies of our two countries are drawing closer together.

The January plenum of the CC CPSU has provided many new ideas that we too will find helpful in achieving the objectives set to our society by the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party: How can we expand socialist democracy? What is the best way to promote government by the people? How can we translate Leninist principles of personnel policy into practice?

Socialism has long been an international phenomenon. For this reason, the decisions of the January plenum of the CC CPSU are relevant far beyond the confines of the U.S.S.R. Herein lie their power and value, the power of ideas, inspiration and example.

Prague

Openness Makes for Trust

Professor Akio Kimura of Tokyo's Aoyama Gakuin University talks to our correspondent in Japan.

The proceedings of the CPSU Central Committee plenum contain much that is new in principle. One could even say that with the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution in the offing, a second revolution has begun, inasmuch as the various processes of restructuring are truly equivalent to a revolution in both depth and scale. The West is being obliged to modify its concept of the Soviet Union. Particular interest is currently being aroused by the newly evolved mechanism of electing leading figures in the various echelons of Party, administrative and economic structures. The present system is a mystery to Westerners, accustomed as they are to the pluralistic formula. And as a mystery it fails to produce a positive response. The nomination of two or more candidates for elected office will not only raise the standard of Soviet executives, but also give a better impression of the U.S.S.R. It is your present electoral system, for instance, that my students criticize most. But, on the other hand, they most profoundly admire the Russian term "glasnost," openness, and everything associated with that concept in Russia today. More than anything else we have taken note of Academician Sakharov's return to Moscow, and the decision to put out previously unpublished works by, for instance, Boris Pasternak. No doubt, for the Soviet people the changes at home that bear upon their daily life are far more important. However, one should not underestimate the significance of those aspects of openness upon which Western mass media focus attention. One might have the initial impression that openness is having an adverse effect on people's ideas of the Soviet Union by highlighting certain negative aspects. In fact, the contrary is true. Openness enhances trust in Moscow and in what it says and does. With greater trust the Japanese and other Westerners will have no fear of the Soviet Union's growing economic and political power, though it is true that we think the U.S.S.R. is overarmed.

As I see it, Japan has a stake in your country's advance along the road of reform. Most of our leading politicians and businessmen are reluctant to see Japan become a military superpower with global ambitions, for which reason they do not regard Moscow's growing strength as imperilling their strategic interests. On the contrary, a growing Soviet economy would make it possible to expand trade in sophisticated equipment and technologies, and move away from the purchase primarily of raw materials from the U.S.S.R. In principle, too, Japan has a stake in the preservation of a multipolar world, which would be out of the question should the Soviet Union become weaker and the United States stronger. We would find it uncomfortable to live in a Pax Americana.

Tokyo

Interest in the Changes

Interview with Rolf Hagel, chairman of the Swedish Workers' Communist Party.

There is heightened interest in Sweden not only in this plenum, a crucial event in the life of Soviet Communists, but also in the radical changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

That was the starting point for my talk with Rolf Hagel, chairman of the Board of the Swedish Workers' Communist Party.

"There is no question that there is keen interest in Sweden in what your country is experiencing today," he said. "And now, when the process of rejuvenation in the Soviet Union is gathering momentum, the interest has increased still more. The many Soviet peace bids that Mikhail Gorbachev has put forward have only added to it.

"However, the interest varies. Progressives enthusiastically welcome the changes in Soviet life. On the other hand, some hope you will run into serious difficulties and that this will bring disillusionment. These people rub their hands and say they will wait and see.

"I did take note of the fact that on the first day of the plenum Swedish newspapers gave extensive coverage to dispatches from Moscow, though, it is true, they refrained from comment and merely retailed the Gorbachev report.

"Moreover, to their own advantage," Hagel added, "putting aside everything positive and constructive in the report, newspapers quoted the criticism, which is certainly unpalatably outspoken, out of context. As a rule, they say nothing about the groundwork which, as Mikhail Gorbachev said, is essential as the point of departure for further rapid advance. The task of all progressives in our country, especially us Communists, is to do all we can to convey the whole truth about the plenum which can truly be qualified as both historic and revolutionary."

Our special correspondent

Stockholm

The New Mission to Mir Station

Two Soviet cosmonauts—Yuri Romanenko, twice Hero of the Soviet Union (commander pilot) and flight engineer Alexander Lavéikin—are now orbiting the earth on a new space mission.

They lifted off on February 6 on board the Soyuz TM-2 spaceship and docked with the Mir—Progress-27 orbital complex on February 8.

The commander pilot's name is known to millions. He is 42. Romanenko flew his first mission, which lasted for 96 days, on board the Soyuz-26 spaceship and the Salyut-6 station in 1977-78. In 1980 he went up for the second time as the commander of a Soviet-Cuban crew. As for flight engineer Alexander Laveikin, 35, this is his first time in space. Having graduated from Moscow's Bauman Higher Technical School in 1974, he went to work at a spacecraft design office. In 1978 he was enrolled in the cosmonauts' unit. Now he has become the Soviet Union's 61st, and the world's 200th cosmonaut.

"I have always been happy to have good partners," Romanenko told newsmen in a pre-flight interview. "I like Alexander for his sense of humour, kindness and industry. Besides spacecraft, he has mastered the L-29 jet. His responses are fast and his instrument reading expertise is above praise. We've come to get along fine."

The Taimyrs (the crew's code name) are to spend months in space. What will they busy themselves with all this while?

On the early days of the mission, Romanenko and Laveikin are settling down in their space home, adapting themselves to zero gravity, getting instruments and equipment ready for work, and demothballing the Mir station's onboard systems. They are to unload the Progress-27 cargo transport attached to the station, which carries fuel, equipment and instruments.

"We'll have to do a lot of research," Alexander Laveikin told a press conference. "The Mir station is a complex machine, and the simplified version now in orbit has to be fitted out with all the instruments and equipment required for the mission. Out of its seven computers only one is in operation so far, so we'll have to actuate the rest. Complementing the station's outfit in flight is interesting but by no means easy work. Besides, we are to ascertain its dynamic characteristics."

"We prepared for carrying out medical-biological experiments as well," Romanenko added. "In particular, we shall keep a tab on changes in our blood composition. We have learned blood testing technique and shall practise it on one another. We've got all the equipment necessary for this."

In the course of the mission, the cosmonauts will continue testing the Soyuz TM transport of an improved design in manned flight. The Soyuz TM-2 is a new model based on the Soyuz T craft.

"This crew is to put in a great deal of work," Victor Blagov, mission assistant director, said. "Late this July, a Soviet-Syrian crew will board the Mir station to carry out a vast research programme there. Every provision must be made for the 'guests' to get down to work without wasting a minute. The potentialities of the Mir station have not yet been exhausted. This is not merely an orbital station, but the base around which a multipurpose manned complex will be built. Specialized modules will be attached to the station one by one. Romanenko and Laveikin will be the first to accept the astrophysical module and to use it. The space observatory's sophisticated equipment will include four X-ray telescopes developed by scientists of the U.S.S.R., Holland, the F.R.G. and Britain."

Soviet spaceships and orbital stations have already hosted 11 international crews. Now Syrian, French and Bulgarian spacemen have arrived at the Cosmonaut Training Centre. In 1987-88 they are to man a third-generation Mir orbital station. The Soyuz TM-2 ship's lift-off from the Baikonur cosmodrome was watched by the main and stand-by Soviet-Syrian crews. The Syrian cosmonauts, Mohammed Faris and Mounir Habib, were shown around the cosmodrome, taken to the assembly and test block, and to the launch site. They discussed with the Taimyrs their future research work on board the Mir station.

"We wish Yuri Romanenko and Alexander Laveikin a good flight," Mohammed Faris said. "Till we meet on board the Mir station and on earth!"

GENNADY RYABOV

Settling in at the Mir space station.

TASS photo

IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?

AND WHAT IN YOUR OPINION ARE THE PREREQUISITES FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY?

Daisaku Ikeda:
TIME FOR "PEOPLE'S DIPLOMACY"

Daisaku Ikeda is president of Japan's largest religious organization, the Soka Gakkai (Society for the Establishment of Values), with a membership of ten million Japanese Buddhists. On the political scene its interests are represented by the opposition Komeito (Clean Government) Party, founded in 1964.

This year our organization is to mark the 30th anniversary of the declaration on the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons, put forward by Josei Toda, Soka Gakkai's second president. Even then, 30 years ago, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were competing fiercely in the military field. Josei Toda had premonitions that East-West confrontation would intensify further. He denounced atomic and hydrogen weapons as an absolute evil that threatened man's right to live and enjoined us to propagate this idea worldwide.

There is a theory according to which nuclear weapons are only the next stage in the upgrading of conventional arms. This theory must be discarded. Indeed, nuclear weapons may play a fatal, apocalyptic role in human history. A qualitatively new approach to them is therefore necessary. What is this new approach? We must abandon traditional arguments about "state interests" and concern ourselves with the interests of humanity. In effect, nuclear weapons, with their stupendous destructive force, have made this choice imperative, even if some are against it.

I oppose all wars in principle, inasmuch as I regard human life as a supreme value that must always be respected. Looking at history we see that only recently people regarded war as a means of upholding the "interests" of their own state and sought to win at all costs. Before the age of world wars, there was at least some ground for this simplistic approach. Both world wars have shown that whatever the outcome, victory or defeat, the wounds inflicted on all the peoples involved are irremediable. The emergence of nuclear weapons has made this conclusion axiomatic.

As many as 50,000 atomic and hydrogen bombs have been stockpiled on our planet, although a few hundred are enough to bring humanity to the verge of total extinction. In both East and West there are people who can be called "the conscience of the nation." It is small wonder they are warning in unison that a nuclear war will be followed by a "nuclear winter" which will completely devastate the earth. Yet even when they are not used, nuclear weapons inflict damage, sapping the strength of the countries that possess them by their stupendous cost. Hence nuclear weapons bring home to us that the interests of all humanity do not conflict with the interests of this or that state, but, on the contrary, are identical with such interests. Unless we take a global standpoint, we shall fail correctly to understand the interests of our own people, our own country.

On January 15, 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev proposed a plan for the elimination of nuclear weaponry in three phases by the close of the present century. He said: "Instead of wasting the next 10-15 years developing new, extremely dangerous weapons in space, allegedly designed to make nuclear arms useless, would it not be more sensible to start eliminating those arms and finally bring them down to zero?" I would like to support this proposal as energetically as I can, because it is completely innovative and unusually bold, and fully accords with the need to change our approach to the issues of war and peace. It takes us from a narrow state approach to an approach common to all humanity.

As for the ways and means of implementing this proposal, they should be drafted with a view to the concrete situation obtaining in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. I have no intention of interfering in this aspect of the matter. I wholeheartedly wish the efforts of both countries to be productive. As I see it, these efforts include the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear testing, which is in keeping with the spirit of Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals. How regrettable therefore that the Reykjavik summit failed to yield concrete results. I have repeatedly urged such meetings, believing them to be urgent and extremely important. I said as much to the Soviet leaders whom I met in Moscow six years ago.

Reykjavik was preceded by Geneva, which resulted in a joint statement recording the idea that no nuclear or conventional war could be won. It also registered the rejection by the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. of efforts to attain military superiority. Granted there have been no new successes since then, one must realize that in deciding problems of such importance for all of mankind nothing can be done quickly. What is essential is that neither the U.S.S.R. nor the U.S. reacted to Reykjavik by stepping up tensions in their relationship. What is still more essential is that in their negotiations the General Secretary and the President came very close to a final accommodation. Reagan agreed to the complete elimination of strategic offensive weapons within the space of ten years, while Gorbachev complemented this proposal by calling for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and all their carriers. The approximation of positions at Reykjavik warrants optimism about success at future meetings and talks. But should no common language be worked out at the next meeting, there must be another meeting, ten more meetings, dozens more meetings. It is vital to bridge the divergences and strive for the supreme objective—our common welfare.

Let us remember the words of Rabindranath Tagore. The "possible" asked the "impossible": "Where do you dwell?"—"In the dreams of those whose spirit has been sapped."

I believe that to continue the dialogue

IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?

at high level it is important not to lose the strength of spirit of which the great Tagore wrote. This strength should derive from an understanding of the interests of humanity, an awareness of the nobility of peacemaking.

A grave obstacle stands in the way of successful dialogue. This is mistrust on both sides. This mistrust must be removed. This can be done in several ways. There is the "royal," direct road. Allow me to cite the following example. Western Europe is worried that in the event of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons the U.S.S.R. and other countries in Eastern Europe will have superiority in conventional armaments. I am not saying that this worry is well grounded. But it exists. It could be dispersed along the "royal" road by complementing the timetable for the elimination of nuclear weapons with corresponding measures for slashing conventional arms. However, there are also other byways, one of which, it seems to me, is "people's diplomacy," by which I mean broad exchanges in the fields of science, art, sport and tourism. "People's diplomacy" can play a role no less important than the role of summits. It will help secure mutual understanding and act as a guarantee of security. The further development of means of transport, communication and information will, as they advance, give still greater importance to "people's diplomacy," for its time has come. ■

Grigory Baklanov:
NEW THINKING, NOT NEW WEAPONS

Soviet writer Grigory Baklanov is editor-in-chief of the literary magazine Znamya (Banner).

Is a nuclear-free world possible? But the world was nuclear-free for centuries. True, there was no international stability, and the relatively brief periods of peace witnessed preparations for new wars: old alliances crumbled and new ones were formed, states built up armaments in fresh attempts to solve problems old and new by force.

The people of Florence and Pisa were once deadly enemies, and fiercer hatred seemed inconceivable. But time passed, and today their implacable hatred appears preposterous. This is history, however, and it is appropriate to recall more recent times. Our generation started out in life soon after the civil war and foreign intervention in our country. When we were studying at primary school, the Italian fascists invaded Abyssinia, and from then on war reports featured constantly in the newspapers. German and Italian fascism tried its hand in Spain. Austria was annexed and Czechoslovakia taken. Eventually, the second world war broke out. There had been much talk about it in the preceding years, and it seemed inevitable. But today, after all the suffering the war brought to mankind, we see and can say that it was not inevitable, that it would have been possible to avert war if the non-aggressive nations could have reached agreement.

Everyone seems to agree today that there will be no winners in a nuclear war and that, as victory is impossible, war is senseless. War is impossible too because it will end in universal catastrophe, and this is now realized by all. But there is one further circumstance: atomic power plants make the country hostage. Are nuclear-tipped missiles and nuclear bombs necessary if conventional bombs are enough to destroy atomic power plants and thus throw the country into disarray? We saw for ourselves how difficult it was, even in peacetime, to undo the ill effects of an accident at one, and only one, reactor, as was the case at the Chernobyl atomic power plant.

In this respect, if one is to take a sober view of things, the atomic weapon has outlived its day. It is nothing less than a technically perfect relic of the time of savagery, the mentality of past centuries and millennia when in the world arena right was might. Nevertheless, there are plans to deploy atomic weapons in space. They will hang over our earth like a sword of Damocles, and only 30 seconds will separate humanity from annihilation as a result of an unpredictable mistake.

It is easier to start things going than to stop them. That is why not just mediocre but even paltry fellows have played such a tragic role in history.

The social and economic causes of past wars have been studied well enough. I want to speak of things that are incomparable. Indeed, are the ambitions of one man (or group of men) and the survival of mankind comparable? Yet on radio and television, and in newspapers we constantly come across comments, routine discussions of how the forthcoming presidential elections in the United States will affect the problem of nuclear disarmament, the SDI programme, and so on. When you hear and read all this, it seems at times that the world has gone mad.

What does the SDI programme mean today? It means, for one thing, that the fate of people will be decided by computers. Mankind has no previous experience, and no one can say for sure how the weapon systems put in orbit will operate. And if something unforeseen, unpredictable happens, it will be impossible to arrest or alter the course of events.

No, nuclear weapons cannot guarantee international stability. They have not insured humankind against "little" wars. In the past 40 years about 25 million people have been killed in such wars. Peace based on nuclear weapons means walking a tight rope over the abyss.

I see the basis of international stability not in improving weapons, or developing new types of weapon, but in elaborating a new way of thinking, and understanding the obvious fact that nuclear weapons have brought humanity to the brink of self-destruction.

It is high time the principle natural to civilized society prevailed in international relations. Peace between neighbours in a common home is not ensured by weapons. ■

Margaret Wilson:
FEAR OF THE UNKNOWN?

Margaret Wilson is president of the New Zealand Labour Party.

We must believe that a world without nuclear weapons is possible and attainable. But we must realize that this will be anything but easy to achieve. The difficulties involved should not be underestimated.

New Zealand is a small country, and in giving effect to our anti-nuclear policy we are to some extent dependent on the position of the nuclear powers. We have forbidden nuclear-powered ships and ships carrying nu-

clear weapons to enter our ports. Together with other countries of the region, we have signed the Rarotonga Treaty proclaiming the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone. But the realization of the treaty requires appropriate action on the part of the members of the nuclear club. That is why we are grateful to the Soviet Union for being the first nuclear power to sign protocols 2 and 3 to the Rarotonga Treaty, thereby demonstrating its readiness to observe the non-nuclear status of the zone.

The South Pacific is not the first nuclear-free zone in the world, and this shows that the world can get along without nuclear weapons. Although the problem of stability in a non-nuclear world seems a most difficult one ... Above all, psychologically. Very many people are afraid of such revolutionary changes. They are afraid of the unknown, of what they do not know. Our own anti-nuclear policy and the many admirable peace proposals advanced by the Soviet Union should therefore be given the widest publicity. They should not be only the subject of political negotiations, they must be made known to the peoples so that everyone should be able to discuss them.

Our party believes in nuclear disarmament. We are considering the institution of the post of minister of disarmament in the government. This would be important both in terms of concrete anti-war activity and as regards the effect on public opinion.

We have another idea we consider of no less importance—to found an institute of peace studies. Its purpose would be to help bring up children in anti-war, anti-nuclear spirit. The institute could be financed from the compensation to be paid us by France for the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior. ■

Guillermo Toriello:
NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES SHOW THE WAY

Guillermo Toriello is president of the Latin American anti-imperialist tribunal, vice-president of the World Peace Council and former foreign minister in the Arbenz administration in Guatemala.

Is a nuclear-free world possible? I am convinced that it is.

As president of the Latin American anti-imperialist tribunal, I wish to declare explicitly that the struggle for peace and disarmament, the elimination of nuclear weapons is also the struggle against imperialism.

As I see it, the creation of nuclear-free zones is an important way of achieving a nuclear-free world. We Latin Americans can take pride in having initiated the recognition of the status of such zones in international law twenty years ago. In February 1967, 14 Latin American countries signed the treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in that continent. That document has gone down in the annals as the Tlatelolco Treaty. In the years since then, the absolute majority of Latin American states have acceded to it. Westwards of the Latin American zone is the South Pacific, also recently proclaimed a nuclear-free zone.

In response to the proposal put forward by the largest Latin American state, Brazil, the latest session of the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution to make the South Atlantic a zone of peace and cooperation. It is a joy to see that this initiative has rallied the support of a whole range of littoral Latin American and African states in the Atlantic Ocean. It is now essential to implement this resolution.

If we also take into account the 1959 treaty banning the introduction of nuclear weapons to the Antarctic, almost the entire Southern Hemisphere has become or may shortly become a vast completely nuclear-free region. This naturally warrants optimism as we look to the future. ■

Ranko Petkovic:
GET OUT OF THE TRAGIC LABYRINTH

Ranko Petkovic is editor-in-chief of the Yugoslav magazine Medjunarodna Politika.

For mankind the 20th century ushered in the age of world wars. To begin with, the first world war broke out, to be followed not long after by the second. After the last war, it was hoped that there would be no third world war. Not because the horrors of the two global conflicts had brought the statesmen upon whom the issues of war and peace depend to their senses, nor because the most cherished desire of the peoples to live in peace had finally triumphed. Rather these hopes arose because nuclear weapons had changed the nature of war. War can no longer be an extention of political action as was the case only yesterday. In a nuclear war, should it break out today, the distinction between victor and vanquished will be erased. Given the present nuclear potential, the use of weapons of mass destruction will result in the annihilation of both warring sides, in other words, in global catastrophe.

But perhaps nuclear weapons safeguard and guarantee world peace? Of course not, and again not, although in the present dialectical controversy nuclear weapons do have the dual role of deterring war, as they demonstrate its senselessness more and more manifestly, and, simultaneously, of threatening the world with universal destruction in the event of their being used in a fatal first strike "for the sake of self-preservation."

Is there any way out of this tragic labyrinth? There is a way out. The elimination of nuclear weapons as the first move to full universal disarmament under international control.

This objective cannot be seen as an illusion or a pipe dream.

The new technologies with which man is entering the 21st century place before us the dilemma of either subordinating technology to common sense and gradually paving the way for the establishment of universal and lasting peace, or of plunging humanity into the chaos of universal destruction.

Universal peace is no propaganda ploy.

The greatest minds of the past, from Thomas Aquinas to Thomas More and Immanuel Kant, dreamed of peaceful prosperity in contrast to the insanity of war. However, the historical conditions for universal peace were not ripe even by the time the League of Nations and subsequently the United Nations were founded, although from their very inception these international organizations categorically banned war as the supreme crime against humanity. We now stand on the threshold of a new millennium. For the first time in history the rapid development of technology, whose irrational application may result in catastrophe, places before us the single overriding imperative for the continued existence of every living creature on earth: universal peace.

The first indication of this historically innovative approach was heard at Geneva, when at their meeting CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronad Reagan stated that it was impossible to win a nuclear

"Certainly Desirable to Have Better Relations"

Interview with Prof. Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

Few political or public leaders would reject today the idea of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. However, when it comes to methods and schedules of elimination and, the more so, ways of ensuring security in a nuclear-free world, opinions vary widely. What do you think about the possibility of scrapping nuclear weapons?

I shall begin by saying that professors are sometimes defined as people who think otherwise. I think otherwise about that question. I do not think nuclear disarmament is inevitable. In fact, I do not even think it will occur. I regard it as extremely unlikely that there will be anything that could be called nuclear disarmament in the world.

Leave aside for the moment U.S.-Soviet relations. There are today six, eight, ten, twelve other countries with a capacity to make nuclear weapons and several of them with a capacity to deliver them, some even, perhaps, intercontinentally. So I do not believe the nuclear genie can be gotten back into the bottle.

Now, I do think there is a possibility for real, important, even dramatic reduction in nuclear weapons between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. I think it could have begun already. We Americans think that the agreement in Reykjavik on subjects on which there was agreement would have been a good start.

I do not believe there will be an agreement between us which involves the United States renouncing the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). We are not going to do that. I think the President would be willing, as he proposed in Reykjavik, to postpone the deployment for ten years of various kinds of mechanisms. But I think there are immediate prospects for various kinds of agreements on intermediate-range and intercontinental ballistic missiles and, quite possibly, on a test ban. So I think there is a broad range of possible agreements available to us in the near and immediate future.

Are you satisfied with the present level of American-Soviet relations? If not, where do you see ways of improving them?

I think relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are not as good we wished they were. But they are not too bad, and it should be very clear that it is an important and very positive thing that there has never been a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, there has never been a war between the United States and the Soviet Union during the last 40 years in which we have been in some sense competing, in which we were rivals, or something.

So the first task is to make certain that relations between our countries do not deteriorate. I think it would be possible to have better relations and certainly desirable to have better relations. The biggest single benefit of better relations would, in my opinion, be to free large amounts of military expenditures in the budgets of each of us for constructive use in our own countries and in the world. How could we do that? I think we can do that above all by step-by-step cooperative efforts. I personally do not think that great, dramatic breakthroughs between our nations are very likely, but I do believe that steady progress is possible in cooperation in specific enterprises in our two countries, in disarmament, in jointly working on projects against hunger, jointly working on space projects, and many areas in which we could cooperate more than we do. And we could work on exchanges more than we have already. And step by step, I think, we can substantially improve our relations, and we and the world would benefit.

Do you see any positive shifts in international relations?

I don't see nearly as many as I wished they were. But I see some, I think. I was speaking to a Soviet professor last night and we were recalling the joint Soviet-U.S. efforts inside the United Nations with regard to delivery of food to Ethiopia at the time when the famine was in its greatest crisis. That worked rather well, in fact. There are some other programmes inside the United Nations in which the United States and the Soviet Union have cooperated. So those things in my personal experience prove that we can work together, and when we work together we usually succeed in accomplishing what we try to accomplish.

I think that the most dramatic example of U.S.-Soviet cooperation was in World War II. It is another example that when we work together we can accomplish great things. I believe there is a wide range of scientific and cultural, artistic and scholarly enterprises on which we could begin right now to work in common. I think we could try harder to find people and policies inside the United Nations on which we could both agree.

I believe what is required in armaments, as in the whole area of our relations, is a determined, step-by-step effort.

Interviewer: EVGENY ANDRIANOV

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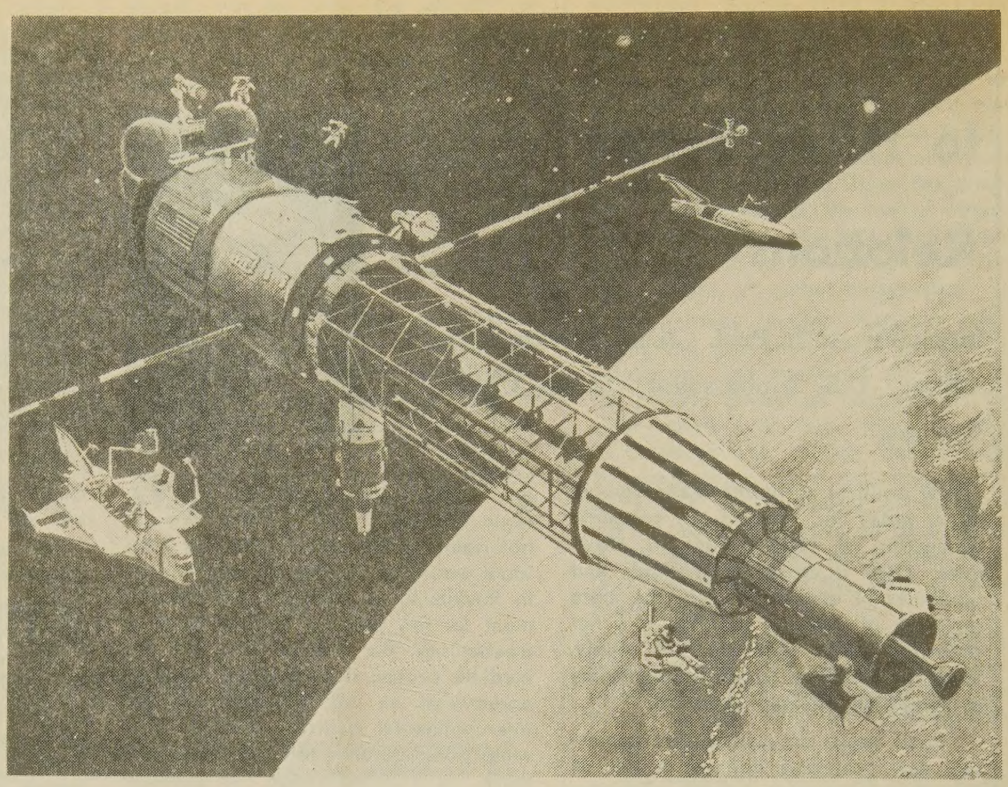
war and that there was no point in seeking military superiority.

The demand of our time, not to mention sober common sense, makes it imperative for the Soviet Union and the United States to continue to negotiate and seek nuclear and other disarmament.

The non-aligned movement, in which Yugoslavia plays a prominent role, advocates universal and complete disarmament and, above all, an immediate ban on the manufacture of nuclear weapons. The non-aligned countries welcome every move towards this goal and greet the Soviet peace initiatives and proposals with immense interest and support.

To sum up: is a nuclear-free world possible? The answer must be categorical: unless nuclear weapons are outlawed, unless this first move towards the universal renunciation of the use of force in international affairs is made, there will be no world at all. ■

What is the U.S. after: space shield or space sword? Why isn't the Soviet Union creating its own SDI? New Times reporters Evgeny Alexeyev and Leonid Mlechin put these questions to ROALD SAGDEYEV, member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and director of its Space Research Institute. The interview follows



Strategic Defence Initiative:

CHAOS INSTEAD OF STABILITY

Judging from some letters to the editors, not all our readers understand why the Soviet Union objects to SDI. Its advocates put forward extremely plausible arguments in its favour: they believe SDI will bring the world deliverance from nuclear weapons and ensure stability. SDI, they argue, threatens no one—it is a shield, a defence system....

The purpose of SDI is to provide protection from offensive nuclear missiles, but did not the Reykjavik summit demonstrate the possibility of eliminating such missiles? Both sides being prepared, in principle, to scrap their strategic nuclear arsenals makes so much nonsense of SDI. Supposing nuclear arsenals have been reduced to nought, and one side deploys such a system. This will amount to a serious strategic imbalance.

Could you please elaborate on that?

Take one SDI scenario which Edward Teller advocates (incidentally, official support for this scenario was one reason why the U.S. refused to join our nuclear test freeze). It provides for submarines, fitted with special launchers and missiles capable of lifting X-ray lasers to an altitude of 1,000 km, being moved as close to the Soviet Union's borders as possible. The lasers are to go all the way up in a fraction of a minute so as to hit an enemy ICBM before it completes the boost stage. No missile has so far been able to pick up such fantastic lift-off speed. Experts say that supermissiles are needed for the purpose. Each supermissile is to carry an X-ray laser pumped to an energy level high enough to emit X-ray radiation capable of destroying enemy missiles. Such a laser can be pumped only by means of a nuclear explosion, and the SDI programme provides for that.

Nuclear explosions will be set off by warheads similar to those with which nuclear missiles are equipped. SDI calls for a whole fleet of submarines carrying missile-borne X-ray lasers which depend chiefly on nuclear warheads for their action. I wonder how any sober-minded statesman could believe such a system to be just an innocent "safeguard" against a "trigger-happy madman." Altering the trajectories of such missiles so as to hit any ground targets with them is no problem at all.

And this is just one of the early SDI versions. The current idea is to deploy the whole system in space in advance.

By SDI the U.S. means a large complex of measures, an echeloned system. Some of the missiles are to be deployed in space, and the rest on submarines. The system is also to comprise space elements for target detection and guidance.

Can't such submarines be monitored?

What do you mean by monitoring? Ascertaining their existence? The im-

portant thing is not so much to keep an eye on these submarines as to make sure that the "launch" button is never pressed.

Supposing an international inspection is authorized to check every such laser device for a nuclear warhead!

Nuclear warheads are necessary for an X-ray laser.

What if such an inspection restricts these nuclear warheads to sizes that rule out the possibility of their being used as an offensive weapon!

Any nuclear warhead can be used as an offensive weapon.

Can the computer programming of these missiles' trajectories be brought under control!

This is absolutely impossible. By checking a programme once we shall achieve nothing: after the checkers have gone, the programme can be altered immediately. Modern computers owe their versatility to being reprogrammable. This is just one of the numerous problems that virtually defy solution, such as the problem of confidence, the problem of reprogramming, the problem of control. Why all this fuss about the space shield, one may ask. Haven't parties concerned already expressed their readiness to give up their strategic nuclear arms? What's the use of a "safeguard" then? What is there to safeguard oneself against?

> I wonder how any sober-minded statesman could believe SDI to be just an innocent "safeguard" against a "trigger-happy madman."

Well, there are three other nuclear powers, and about ten countries capable of getting hold of nuclear weapons.

Let us take a look at the road to a non-nuclear world outlined in the Soviet proposals, as for instance the programme put forward on January 15, 1986. All the concrete schemes for making the world nuclear-free envisage a stage-by-stage process involving these three and other nuclear powers.

What about those which have not joined the nuclear club yet but are knocking at the door!

The all-round Soviet proposals presuppose a still stricter abidance by the letter and spirit of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The dismantling of nuclear warheads, multiple warhead vehicles and the entire nuclear-weapon assembly line is to be carried out under international control. This naturally applies to the countries which have no nuclear warheads so far but are about to get hold of them.

And what if we suggest a compromise to the Americans: you don't go ahead with the deployment of an SDI system with first-strike capability, and we make strategic defence arrangements of our own! This will result in two shields which will threaten no one and guarantee either side against any attack. What would you say to those readers who think the U.S.S.R. is making a mistake by not developing its own version of the SDI system!

Two SDI systems would devour whatever stability remained in the world twice as fast. "SDI versus SDI" symmetry would be extremely precarious and dangerous. Theoretically speaking, the side which got ahead of the other "competitor in the race" might feel tempted to make a preemptive strike. This is a convincing enough argument against this option and in favour of alternative ones. Today we can say that asymmetry in this matter would make for a higher degree of reliability, and for a more stable configuration.

In other words, no space-based ABM system offers the hope of maintaining stability, is that right! Consequently, even if nuclear weapons are eliminated SDI will not make the world any safer, will it!

The combination of SDI and offensive nuclear arms is clearly an explosive mixture. But SDI in a non-nuclear world is another matter. Whether space systems armed with high-power free-electron or chemical lasers instead of nuclear-pumped ones can be an element of strategic equation or not is a problem that needs serious study. As I see it, in a non-nuclear world depending for its balance on ground-based conventional weapon systems, the existence of exotic orbital arms capable of hitting control centres with pinpoint accuracy would be a powerful destabilizing factor. In case of war, these arms—albeit non-nuclear—would give their owner a considerable advantage from the start.

> "SDI versus SDI" symmetry would be extremely precarious and dangerous. Today we can say that asymmetry in this matter would make for a more stable configuration.

You mean....

I mean the advantage of being able to use space-to-earth offensive weapons. Judging from the concrete SDI scenarios now being discussed by American militarymen, scientists and politicians, almost all versions of the system are to include offensive weapons.

What kind of weapons, specifically!

Lasers, for instance. The atmosphere is opaque to an X-ray laser beam, but transparent to an optical laser beam.

Won't the beam disperse in the atmosphere!

It will, but to a negligible extent. One of the SDI options provides for ground lasers which hit space targets (missiles, for instance) either directly, or on the earth-to-space-to-space principle, meaning that a ground laser's beam is trained on a space mirror which turns in such a way as to bounce the beam off to a target.

You say that an X-ray laser beam disperses in the atmosphere. Surely this makes it unfit for use as an offensive weapon. Is it of any danger then!

The X-ray laser is included in the strategic equation as an anti-retaliation element.

The X-ray laser destroys strategic missiles, the potential deterrents. You can hit the other side and parry the retaliatory strike by means of the X-ray laser. Defensive and offensive weapons are organically connected, and this interconnection is inseverable. You can use one and the same device both to beat back an attack, and to attack. The X-ray laser is a case in point.

On the one hand, SDI is described as a threat to peace; on the other, the very feasibility of a space defence system—and its efficacy, if it ever comes about—is being called in question. Isn't there a contradiction here?

Most analysts believe that SDI will not be of help in achieving strategic superiority, because countermeasures will be taken. Modern science and military technology guarantee this. A direct countermeasure would be a simple buildup of offensive potential. It will cost much less to increase the number of nuclear missiles than to set up a defence system. The latest advances in science and technology can be embodied in offensive weapons as well. Strategic equilibrium can be restored this way, but its price will be still more nuclear weapons around, an added risk of a nuclear conflict breaking out in a critical situation, and lower overall strategic stability.

Therefore when we say we are not afraid of SDI we mean it's impossible to gain any unilateral advantages by means of SDI. But as entirely new components of the strategic balance equation appear, the balance will become still more precarious, and all countries—the U.S. included—will be less secure.

You say that SDI is an illusion, but the Americans do not regard it as such. Why is the U.S. so eager to set up an ABM system?

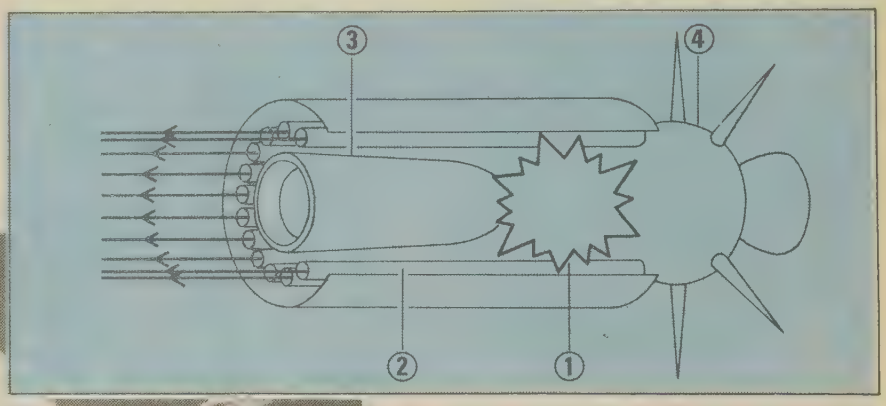
I happen to have discussed this problem with Americans from all walks of life: servicemen and scientists, politicians and public figures. Most of them told me they regarded the hope of achieving superiority through SDI as a dangerous illusion. Why then do generals and politicians hang on to this programme?

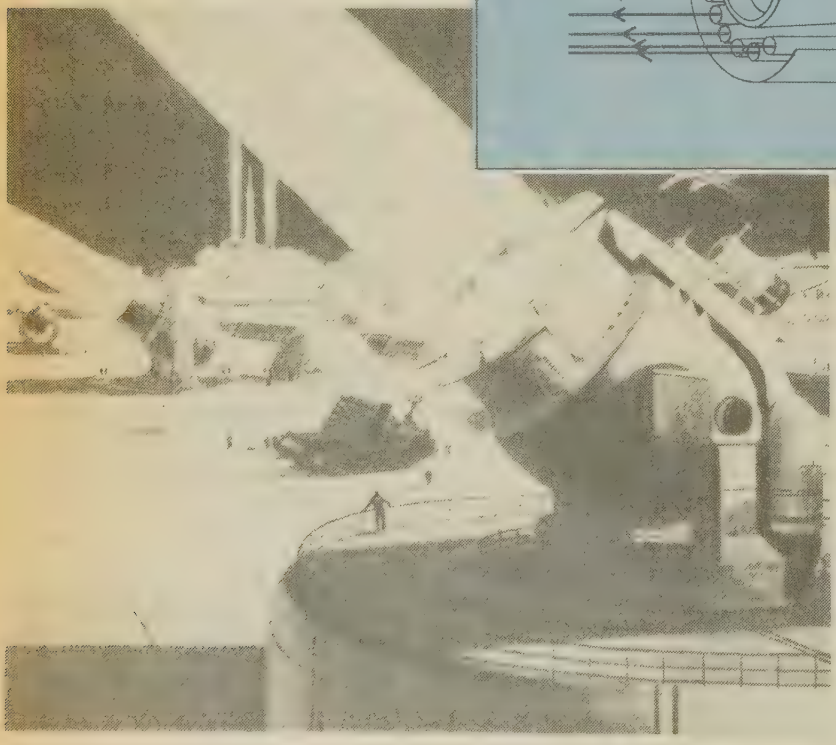
American political life is like a pendulum, with public opinion intermittently swinging from one extreme to the other. This happens chiefly on account of those who are in no position to weigh all the pros and cons on their own. They are not to blame for that because their ideas are formed largely under the influence of the mass media. There was a period when most Americans thought the world had stockpiled more weapons than was good for it, and it was time to reach an agreement with the Russians. That was followed by another swing of the pendulum. The point is that quite a few people in America have a financial interest in military programmes.

I am certain, of course, that even in the military-industrial complex there are sober-minded people who are not at all eager to unleash a war. Their reasoning is probably as follows: mankind has been living with nuclear weapons for forty years, but war has not broken out because both sides know—the button must not be pushed. So if there is still a chance of cashing in on arms manufacturing—well, why not? Unfortunately, a more serious analysis of things is still beyond them.

These people constitute only a fraction of American society. All right, the military-industrial complex is concerned exclusively with profit. But what about statesmen, Congressmen, the administration?

American political life is governed by rather complicated laws. There is no simple formula that makes it possible to predict what Congress will do, and whether it will come to terms with the administration in any particular case. But you must always bear economic factors in mind. The prospect of having military installations built in its territory and getting munitions orders (which mean more jobs) may look attractive to certain electoral constituencies. The circles connected with the arms manufacturing companies and the army are a politically organized force. There are numerous think tanks like the Heritage Foundation busy inculcating in people





The SDI system will comprise mostly laser weapons to be used against missiles and ground targets.

American scientists are now working on four types of laser:

—hydrogen fluoride chemical lasers;

—free-electron lasers;

—excimer lasers [using chemical compounds of inert gases in an unstable excited state as the active medium]. The beams emitted by these ground-mounted lasers are to be trained upon enemy targets by means of a system of space-based mirrors;

—nuclear-bomb-pumped X-ray lasers [see chart: 1—nuclear bomb; 2—laser rods; 3—tracking telescope; 4—targeting and propulsion unit]. These lasers have a special role to play in carrying out the SDI programme.

the need for the technological arms race.

General Daniel Graham, author of the notorious book "High Frontier" (lauded to the skies by the Heritage Foundation) on setting up a space-based ABM system, wrote that the task of the current administration was to make the SDI programme irreversible.

The advocates of SDI are inviting us to join in. In doing so they are acting from pragmatic motives. How can you admit in public that a nuclear war is impossible—and stimulate investment in the development of new military programmes at the same time? The best way is to point to a potential enemy and scream: look, he's building up a space defence system! And if he does not want to do so, to try and persuade him by any means, even by promises of passing on the latest in high technology to him.

And now, our magazine's traditional question: on what, in your opinion, should international stability rest in a nuclear-free world?

It will be possible to find concrete ways of maintaining stability in a world where only conventional weapons remain. This is not going to be an easy matter, of course. What should we—all of us on earth—fear most? The problems that will certainly spill over to a nuclear-free world or one day being blown sky-high together?

Those who deal with problems of strategy will have something to think about when probing for the right path towards a nuclear-free world. The process of reducing the present level of nuclear confrontation to zero will pass through numerous intermediate stages: the number of nuclear warheads will continue to diminish, and certain kinds of weapon will disappear altogether. Each stage should be well balanced. The first step, to be taken by the two great powers only, is to cut their nuclear forces by half. The next tasks will be to draw the rest of the nuclear powers into the global nuclear disarmament process, and to maintain stability at each stage so as to preserve equilibrium.

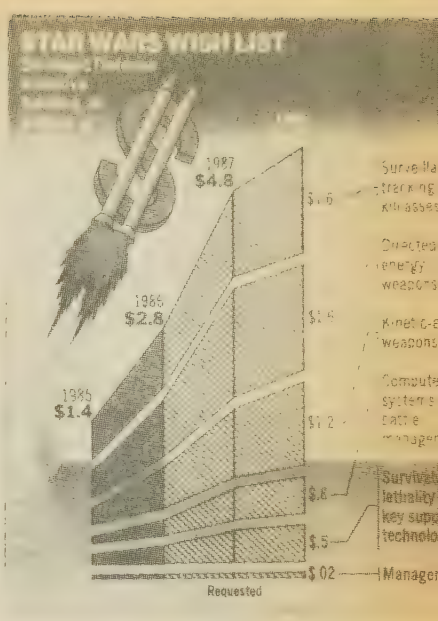
One school of thought—to which Henry Kissinger belongs, for instance—maintains that the fewer nuclear weapons, the greater the danger of critical situations. Kissinger believes that a high level of nuclear armament guarantees greater stability. Robert McNamara takes a different view. He thinks that 500 warheads apiece (preferably single rather than miltiple) are enough to ensure stability. Other experts are of the opinion that an intermediate level of minimum deterrence requires only a few dozen warheads.

Just ten warheads or so, instead of the 10,000 stockpiled to date, would be enough to deter a potential warmonger. Those who insist on the further stockpiling of nuclear weapons argue that nuclear missile systems may misfire, and therefore reserves are needed. Even the Challenger disaster has failed to convince me of that. The rate of failure of modern space weapons can be calculated. Information on the propensity of nuclear warhead control systems to malfunctions is less readily available but it follows from the discussions over the past year of the problem of a nuclear test ban that experts are pretty sure the electronic systems or any other warhead components are unlikely to malfunction in combat. As for the means of delivery, statistics pertaining to the use of modern space technology tell us that some missiles occasionally fail to take off, develop engine trouble, and so forth—but such cases are few and far between. All the more so as the armed forces use thoroughly tested and reliable systems. In peacetime, however, even an isolated incident can spark off a nuclear war. This is a terrible price to pay for the buildup of enormous nuclear arsenals.

It is not at all necessary for the Americans and us to love each other; it is enough to realize that our two nations will survive provided we reach an agreement.

Won't the scrapping of nuclear weapons give an impetus to the development of new arms?

The proposal of January 15, 1986, links the changeover to a nuclear-free world with banning other weapons of mass destruction. If mankind proves able to implement this changeover, this will pave the way for the appropriate control arrangements all along the line, from the research stage on. After all, there does exist a convention banning all kinds of research connected with the development of biological weapons.



The climate of mutual trust would be most welcome, of course. But even if we fail to create such a climate, we must reach an agreement, because we have a common goal, survival, which calls for the elimination of nuclear weapons. The U.S. and ourselves face the same horrible enemy, we are companions in distress, chained together and confined to the same cell. It is not at all necessary for the Americans and us to love each other; it is enough to realize that our two nations will survive provided we reach an agreement, even if we are only guided by the instinct for self-preservation.

Shan't we confront, some time in the future, the need to set up a space shield to protect us from, say, extra-terrestrial aggressors or from large meteorites?

The chances of a very large heavenly body falling on the earth are rather slim. Such events occur very seldom. A scientific hypothesis has it that an enormous swarm of comets and asteroids invades the environment of the sun, our solar system included, once every 25 billion years. What ensues is a merciless bombardment of planets causing ecological catastrophes. It was probably such a catastrophe that exterminated the dinosaurs. Mankind has ten million years or so to prepare for such an "attack." I hope we shall cope with the problem of SDI earlier than that because the danger it poses is much more immediate.

Illustrations from Cambio 16 (Spain), Time (U.S.A.) and the book "Weaponry in Space: The Dilemma of Security" (U.S.S.R.)

● SELF-EXPOSURE

What's in His Thoughts?

Rear Admiral Jan Ingebrigtsen, a former chief of Norway's military intelligence and now a leading figure in the Federation of Norwegian Industries, described a terrible threat to the country's national security. The Norwegian reaction to Ingebrigtsen's apprehensions in an interview for the newspaper Morgenbladet was varied. The Oslo-based Dagbladet was doubtful: the rear admiral is a thinking man, true, but the problem is the way he is thinking.

What prompted such comments? Referring to a recent agreement between the Soviet Union and Finland to give prompt notification in the event of accidents at atomic power plants, the rear admiral said that a similar agreement between the Soviet Union and Norway could jeopardize Norwegian policy with regard to atomic power and military bases (sic!). Moreover, he expressed the fear that the U.S.S.R. would be given an opportunity to inspect Norwegian military bases.

What was Ingebrigtsen really thinking about? The agreement he cites only concerns atomic power plants. And what does policy with regard to atomic power and military bases have to do with it all if Norwegian laws forbid the presence of both nuclear weapons and foreign military bases in Norwegian territory in peacetime? What threat does he mean? However, contrary to legislation, Norway already has depots of heavy armaments for U.S. marines and electronic spy stations to back up U.S. nuclear strikes against the U.S.S.R. Perhaps the former intelligence chief remembered something else which should not on any account be on Norwegian soil? And nearly blew the gaff. . .?

● SENSATION

King's Death Hastened

According to official British history, King George V died a natural death on January 20, 1936, at the age of 70. However, evidence published in the journal History Today by Francis Watson, biographer of a former royal physician, Lord Dawson, gives the lie to the official story. According to Dawson's diary, the King died after having been administered a lethal dose of a mixture consisting of three parts morphium and one part cocaine.

Physicians believed that the King's hours were numbered. But he could have lasted longer than the news deadline for the morning papers, while reports on the death of a monarch in the evening papers seemed beneath the royal dignity. So by agreement with close relatives, his death was hastened. . . . Forty minutes after the fatal shot, the King expired.

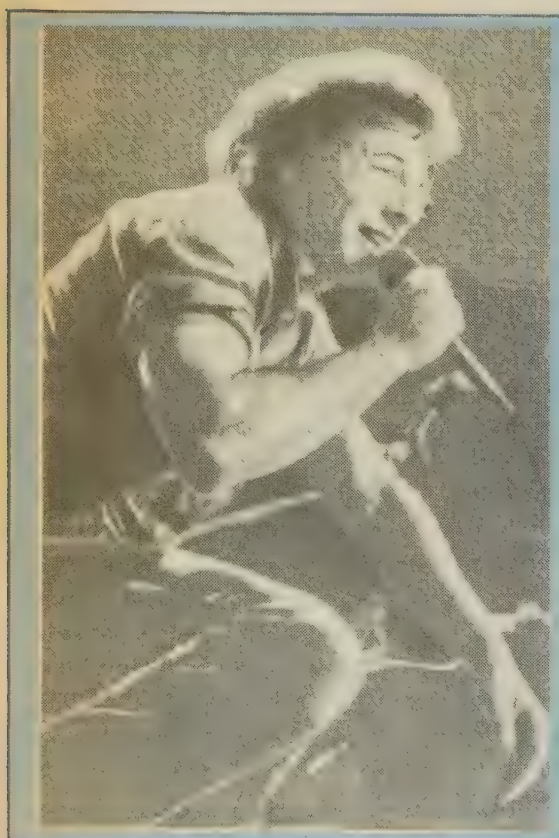
Having administered the injection, Dawson contacted the editors of the Times and told them "to stand by for late news." The next day the newspaper appeared with the banner headline "A Peaceful Ending at Midnight."

The History Today article has exploded another myth. The former royal physician quoted the King's last words on his deathbed as not "How stands the Empire?" but "God damn you." The publication does not say who was the target of the damnation.

● HEALTH

Detachable Muscles

Any weakling putting on a 20-dollar vest under his shirt will look a superman. The American company that hit the market with

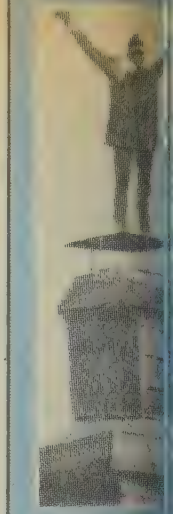


● MUSIC

The new album by Bruce Springsteen, the 37-year-old rock singer and song-writer, is selling millions of copies within hours of coming out. A popular TV programme has devoted three evenings to him. Springsteen has made 8 LPs in the 11 years of his career in music and all his concerts are sellouts.

Born into a working-class family, he sings the anguish of today's America, putting across the feelings of his desperate compatriots, the unemployed, the homeless and people from obscure provincial townships. Springsteen is also well known for his philanthropy: he contributes millions of dollars to help the needy.

Photo from People's Daily World (U.S.A.)



● HAPPENI

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the new produc ready stocked 4 to launch in th Alas, it is certain

Although nin every ten parents their children perfect, statistic agree: according 40 per cent of boys and 70 pe girls aged from cannot lift them the bar more t the magazine says. A third o school-going ag the girls cannot in 10 minutes (v the figures in o tries?). Excess characteristic no respectable fa also of 27 per children in the 6

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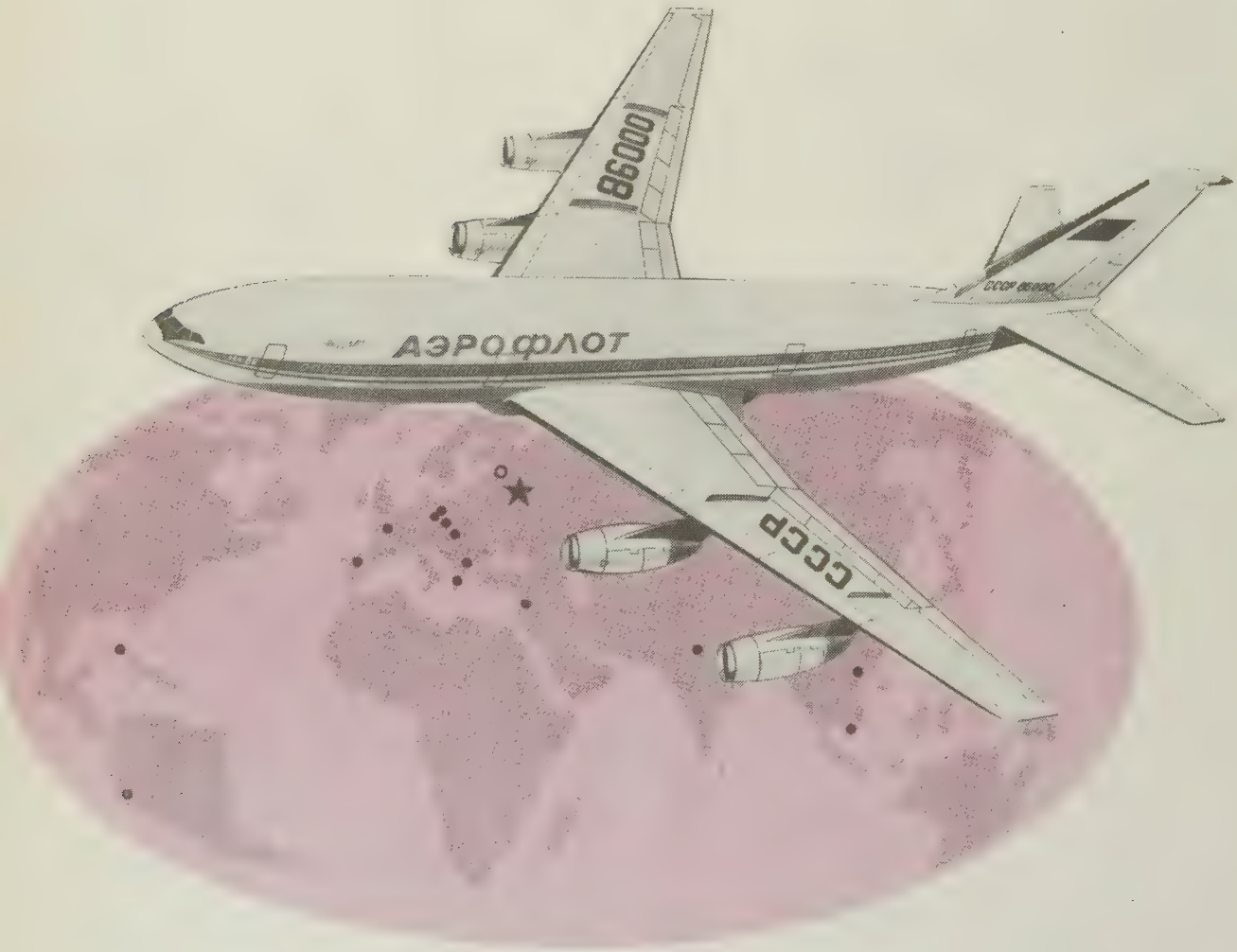

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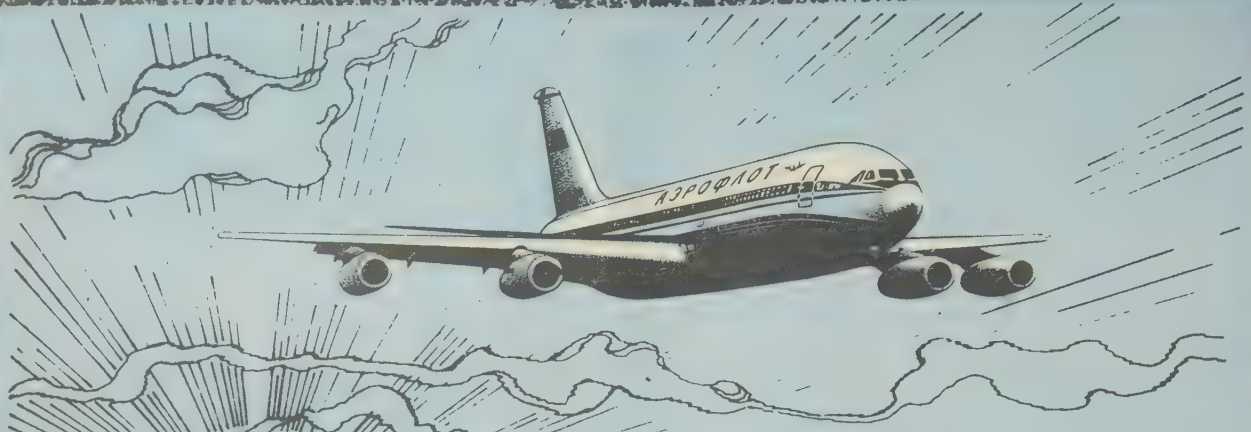

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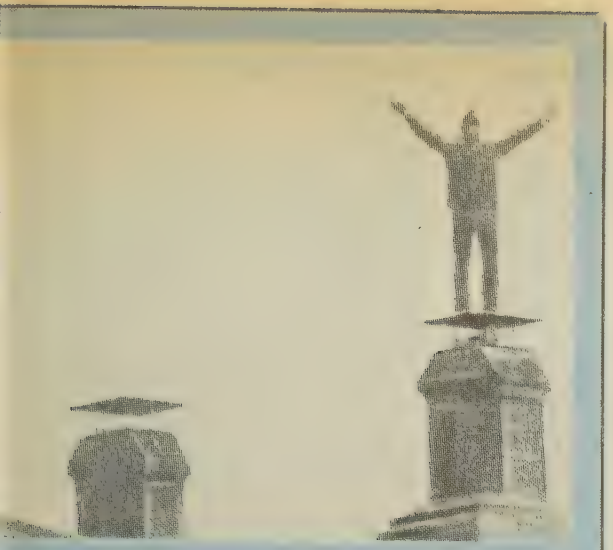


claimed was the brutality of prison guards, 16 inmates
n Glasgow, Scotland, took three warders hostage and

t on masks and several times came out onto the roof
s, posing for reporters (AP photo). They pelted the
e prison with slates from the roof.

group. As many as 40 per cent of 5 to 8 year-olds have high blood pressure....

Physicians say that the situation has got much worse over the past 20 years for a number of reasons which include cuts in government spending on education: when schools are denied government grants, fitness classes are the first to go. Today they are mandatory in only 17 American states.

● CRIME

Keep Mum About Going Away

The Spanish weekly Cambio 16 has described Spanish crime statistics as staggering: in 1985, it reports 639,592 criminal offences were recorded, including 325,126 robberies. Altogether 101,215 cars were stolen. An average of 1,500 cars are vandalized by thieves daily.

In the holiday season, flats are the favourite target of criminals. The Martinez Roca publishers have put out a guide suggesting ways of minimizing the chances of flats being burgled in their owners' absence. In addition to the obvious precautions, such as good locks on doors and windows, the authors recommend:

—taking care that the mailbox does not bulge during your absence as this may attract thieves;

—rubbish bin, conversely, should not be emptied before departure;

—a device should be bought to switch on and off the light automatically;

—the ringing device on the phone should be turned down so that unanswered calls are not audible from outside;

—keep your holiday plans close to your chest.

● WILDLIFE

Big Bad Wolf?

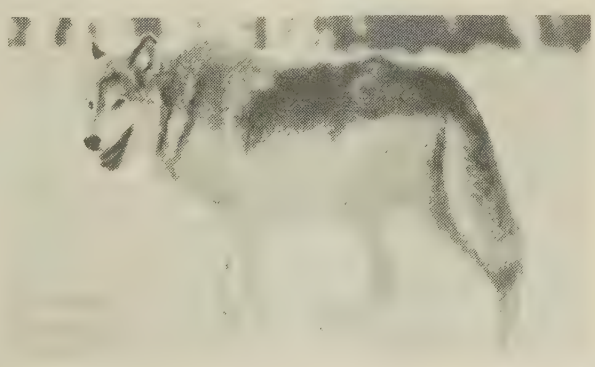
Does man have the right to take a wolf's life to preserve that of a deer? Some twenty years ago no one even stopped to think about the dilemma: there was no pity for the "grey thief." Today, however, we feel a keener responsibility for any attempt to "better" or "improve" Nature.

The northern deer, the caribou, is threatened in Canada's Alberta Province. There are a mere 250 head left, so measures are being taken to keep away poachers and reserves are being set up. In addition, the authorities have decided to kill off 70 per cent of the wolves in the area, blamed for the depletion of the deer stock. But these plans ran into opposition from environmentalists. Wolves are not scapegoats, they argued, and the shooting of the beasts was called off.

Farley Mowat, writer and naturalist famous for his book about wolves, says: "It is a crime to unload the blame for what we do to Nature on other animal, and one that can't fight back."

Will people ever forgive him for Little Red Riding Hood!

Photo from Time magazine (U.S.A.)



CHILD POWER

Children in Norway faced with any problem—when to go to bed, traffic jams on the way to school, or even "arbitrary acts" by teachers—can just dial a number and lodge a complaint with Maalfrid Grude Flekkoey, an official ombudsman for the children.

The office was established in 1981 when Parliament made a controversial decision granting a million underage Norwegians the right to lodge complaints with the authorities.

PAINTING AN HONEST POUND

Stephen Boggs, an American living in Britain, is an artist who paints money. But he is not a common forger. He does not keep it secret that he uses his "works of art" to meet his expenses and even signs the notes he paints. Nevertheless, people take his money with pleasure and even give him change. His landlord, for instance, has taken several 100-pound notes painted by his tenant towards rent. At exhibitions mounted by Boggs, fans are willing to part with 500 pounds [real] to buy a fake 5-pound note.

The Swiss National Bank unexpectedly allowed the artist to paint 3,000 20-franc notes for exhibitions and personal use. The more conservative Bank of England, however, took Boggs to court.

MARATHON CORNER-CUTTING

During the 1980 Boston marathon, a runner took a shortcut and came first. Since then concealed video cameras have begun to be used to monitor the major marathon races in the U.S. Recently specialists questioned the victory of John Bell, 44, in the New York marathon. Video recordings showed that Bell and 23 other runners cut the distance by as much as 10 miles.

The Scene Today

From our special correspondent
ALEXANDER LEBEDEV

I first visited Madrid about a year before Franco's death. I took a taxi to the place where an international conference was being held (my being a participant in the conference accounted for the relative ease with which I obtained an entry visa). When I gave the address the driver's face—Spaniards are usually friendly—instantly took on a cold, even hostile expression. Later I realized why. The conference was being held in the building of the Francoist trade unions. The ordinary people hated "vertical trade unions" and rejected fascism.

Today, Spain is different.

Visiting El Pais

El Pais, which means "The Country," first appeared in 1976 in the post-Franco era and perhaps embodies to some extent the new era Spanish society has entered. The editorial offices and the printshop are situated in a huge modern factory-like building away from the city centre. Inside, the building is at once rational and cosy. The foreign news editor Maria Dolores Ruiz de Elvira (her colleagues call her Marilo), a witty, charming young woman and an experienced journalist, took me around the building. The newspaper has a staff of about 200 writers. Sitting together in a vast hall (American style) are heads of departments and editors. Each has a display on his or her desk. There is hardly any noise, although people are in constant communication with one another. They don't look like robots, but I got the impression that there is little idle talk here. Exchanging information and impressions is another matter. The department head can plug into the display of any of the staff and see how they are getting along without hindering them. If necessary, he steps in to help. Members of the staff can relay information to each other through the computer display system.

I confess that Marilo's explanations made me feel rather small: can a person used to a typewriter or, worse, a pen quickly learn to use all this

gadgetry? The journalists, some of whom were far from young, assured me it was not so difficult. A little training is all you need to acquire the necessary skills. (Incidentally, most journalists today have a personal computer at home.)

As I found out, the way El Pais is run makes many West European newspapers envious. The French Le Monde and the British Guardian have sent their people to look at its work. The newspaper comes out daily on 56 to 96 pages and has a circulation of some 400,000. It also publishes a colourful Sunday supplement. The paper's finances are in good order.

As for its political orientation, it is usually described as liberal and centrist (subtitled: "independent"). It is often said that the paper is close to the Socialist government. The staff reject that description, while admitting to having contacts at the personal level.

Be that as it may, El Pais is trying to live up to its title. Its director, Juan Luis Cebrian, a prominent figure in Spanish politics, is an amiable man of 42, shrewd and dynamic. He is a professional journalist and author of several books. Cebrian readily answered my questions, one of which, naturally, was about the state of Soviet-Spanish relations established ten years ago.

The No. 1 Talking Point

The paper's director noted that the Soviet Union is still little known in Spain and that there is great untapped potential for cooperation between the two countries which, in his opinion, should be free of any ideological interference. He spoke of the significance of Soviet-Spanish relations in the general context of European détente.

El Pais carries not a few articles about the Soviet Union. The quality of these articles varies and they are by no means always friendly. Recently the Soviet Union has been in the spotlight in the Spanish media. The January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was the number one talking point. We were showered with questions about the current reforms in the Soviet Union at every meeting (Vyacheslav Sluzhivov of the Soviet Peace Committee and I were guests of Spanish anti-war organizations). People from various walks of life were interested in the prospects for economic reforms and the democratization of the Soviet political system.

Most questions asked were prompted by sincere interest. Plans for drastic change in all spheres of Soviet life have aroused a keen interest, the like of which had not been seen for some time, in the experience and example of socialism. Combined with the current renewal of Soviet society, Soviet foreign policy is winning more and more supporters.

Some activists of the anti-war groups who only recently thought the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. were equally to blame for the arms race said that the Soviet moratorium and the processes taking place in the U.S.S.R. have made them change their minds.

One should not oversimplify matters, of course. The anti-war movement involves people of diverse political persuasions and there is considerable ideological and political confusion in its midst. Some are calling on the Soviet Union to introduce a multi-party system (unconvinced by the argument that there are various possibilities for the democratic process within a one-party system), and hope to discover signs of capitalism in the current reforms (they still find it hard to believe that socialism has more to offer the people in economics and politics). The people who call themselves "bakus" (after Bakunin, a famous Russian anarchist) were unimpressed by our explanations of the kind of self-management we are seeking; they feel it cannot provide an antidote to bureaucracy. Others say that talks on disarmament are not getting anywhere and that unilateral disarmament is the only answer. The implication is that the Soviet Union must set an example again and again (though they do admit that the West has failed to make the slightest step to meet us halfway).

However, all these questions were asked without the overt hostility characteristic of the past. In general, it has to be said that the Soviet Union is not perceived in Spain as "an enemy."

The latest opinion polls show that most Spaniards believe the threat to peace comes from the United States and not from the Soviet Union. As we gathered from talks we had with Spanish intellectuals and academics, there is no question of whether the Soviet reforms should or should not be supported. The attitude to the process of modernization in Soviet society is by and large positive, although some realize that a renewed Soviet Union keeping abreast of the latest developments in every field is causing concern amongst the ultra-right, especially in the U.S.

The business community is exhibiting keen interest in the possibilities for cooperation in the new conditions. We have been asked many questions about how joint enterprises will function, and whether there will be a chance to establish, say, Spanish restaurants (famous for their cuisine) together with Soviet partners.

During our stay in Madrid Soviet musicians were performing there and in other cities, pictures of Soviet artists were on display (they were presented by Boris Ugarov, president of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Arts). In Barcelona, we met Jesus del Rio, a prominent leader of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain, assistant representative of the central government in Catalonia. A young, charming and dynamic individual, he spoke strongly in favour of extending Spanish-Soviet cooperation. We were also accorded a warm reception at the preparatory committee for the 1992 summer Olympics and were promised that Soviet athletes would be welcome in Barcelona.

We were not aware of any hostility or ill will while we were in Spain (although not all Spaniards are our friends). And yet, links and cooperation between the two peoples and exchanges of information could be greater. When I spoke at the Autonomous University of Barcelona and at the Centre for Information and International Documentation, people complained that Soviet scientists and journalists were rare guests.

Could There Be a Return to the Past?

Spain has indeed changed in the past decade. Although I was aware that change was inevitable during my first visit ten years ago, it was only the dictator's death that made the restoration of democracy possible.

To my mind, for all the contradictions in Spanish politics, credit is due to those who insured the country's relatively smooth transition to a new road (the government was led then by the Centrist leader, Adolfo Suarez). Of course, it can only be called smooth with reservations. In February 1981 the ultra-right staged an abortive military coup. But Franco's successors did not have Franco's luck. King Juan Carlos behaved with restraint and cool-headedness and refused to back the conspirators, confirming his reputation as a kind of guarantor of Spain's advance along the path of bourgeois democracy. The putschists were jailed.

The Sunday issue of Diario featured the arrogant faces of the conspirators. Some say that plans are afoot to allow them to resume service in the army. I asked the Spaniards I met whether they felt there was a threat of a right-wing coup. Almost all of them—Communists, Socialists, leftists of every hue, journalists, peace activists—were unanimous in denying that such a danger exists.

This is not just an emotional reaction. They all cite similar arguments. A right-wing coup is unlikely because the Socialist government led by Felipe Gonzalez has no serious opposition. By and large, its policy suits the banks, the industrialists and the army (the latter is being modernized).

The Political Parties

The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party has no rivals either on the right or the left, say local commentators. The left is divided as is the right. The Centrists are in disarray.

It is suggested that Spanish Socialists may remain in power for as long as the Social Democrats have done in Sweden.

Clearly, this would require skilful handling of social, economic and foreign affairs. So far Felipe Gonzalez has been able to meet the challenge. Within the Socialist Party the left wing is more of a theoretical idea than an organized group. As for the opposition, the extreme right Popular Alliance is in the throes of a struggle for the vacant post of leader after the defeat of Fraga Iribarne, a "historic" Francoist, in the parliamentary elections. Some suggest that conditions are ripening for the political comeback of Adolfo Suarez, leader of the Democratic and Social Centre. But even his supporters are not counting on a major success at the forthcoming local elections in June and are now looking to the longer term.

As a result of divisions, there are several Communist parties and Marxist groups active in Spain. We met the representatives of some of them. They do not seem to feel that the restoration of unity, and the creation of a large and influential Communist party that would express the sentiments of a sizable section of Spanish society is likely in the near future. The active participation of left-wing forces in the anti-war movement and their cooperation holds out some promise.

The bourgeois parliamentary system has been established and is functioning as if the long years of fascism had never been. Has the ideology and policy of the Spanish Falange really become an anachronism and died a natural death with Franco? This is not the impression one gets from the demonstrations periodically staged by veterans and young neonazis. However, we have been assured that these were just the antics of a fringe, rather than a serious political force. Well, Spaniards know better, although coups take place without advance notice.

It is also true that the number of former Franco admirers who come to his grave is shrinking every year. Incidentally, the grave is tucked away in a mammoth shrine hewn by convicts in a granite mountain in the Valley of the Dead. Franco ordered the building of this pretentious structure as a symbol of reconciliation in society as fighters of both camps in the Spanish civil war were buried there. In fact, the dictator was more concerned to build a mausoleum for himself than to commemorate the dead and achieve reconciliation in society. The shrine, topped by a jumbo-sized stone cross (which turned out to be higher than the dome of St. Peter's in Rome, a fact that drew protests from the Vatican), leaves a depressing feeling. With its huge armour-plated doors, a surfeit of marble of every hue, and high domes, the pretentiousness of the building merely underlines the futility of attempts by dictators to assert their power and ensure their immortality. The monument in the Valley of the Dead is a tourist attraction, a symbol of a bygone era.

The Spaniards are not given to raking up the past and reliving the tragedies of the civil war. They prefer to look to the future that they are building today.

Madrid—Moscow

Self-Employed Craftsmen, Cooperatives...

From our special correspondent
NIKITA ZHOLKVER

We all avail ourselves of public services, and the way this sector is run goes a long way towards determining the quality of our lives.

Our magazine recently ran a feature on the services sector in the Soviet Union (No. 3, 1987). What is the situation like in the G.D.R., Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria? Surely the experience of the friendly socialist countries has much to offer.

The Potter

It was like magic. Three times in the space of half an hour I watched a potter turn a lump of clay into an elaborate vase. Three times I tried to detect the moment when the shapeless mass began to acquire an elegant form. I failed, although I did not once take my eyes off the spell-binding sight.

"Tell me, Reinhard, do you know what you'll get in advance or do you just trust your instinct?"

"Of course, I know in advance. At first I put the clay through my head. This is the only way if you want to make something better than a chamber pot. If your fingers go wrong, you'd do well to start all over again."

Later that night, in a student club, amid the din and blare of rock music, Reinhard told me about his life, and it struck me that what he had said about pottery applied to much else as well.

Reinhard Keitel is 36. He is a self-employed craftsman, a "private operator" as we would say in Russia. But, unlike in Russian, the corresponding German word does not sound pejorative. On the contrary, self-employed craftsmen are respected and highly esteemed in the G.D.R. The word is never associated with "money grubbing" or "profiteering."

True, a self-employed baker, tailor, shoemaker, watchmaker or car mechanic earn (marginally) more than their counterparts in government employment, but it would never occur to anyone to describe the difference as "unearned" income. Consider the facts. The self-employed baker gets up at four in the morning so that his neighbour can eat a fresh roll for breakfast before going to a government-owned bakery to make bread for the people. And what's wrong with a stonemason earning good money by building a house in the country for a university professor on his days off? Be that as it may, I emerged from my numerous meetings and talks in the G.D.R. with the impression that people engage in private crafts not so much for material benefit, to make more money, as provide an outlet for their creativity, and to honour tradition. Reinhard Keitel is a case in point, although his story is somewhat unusual.

After secondary school, Reinhard acquired a university degree and worked as a civil engineer in Weimar until 1980. He was doing quite well. His salary was rising (1,500 marks a month) and his chances of promotion were good.

"Eventually, I might have become chief engineer at my building trust," says Reinhard.

"Didn't you like the prospect?"

"I liked it, but my heart was not in the job I was doing."

At 30 Reinhard decided to make a clean break. It took courage. A career is not a piece of clay which you can fashion and refashion endlessly. Reinhard decided to take the risk. In 1980 he gave up his job with the intention of becoming a potter. It was easier said than done. He had to go through a number of formalities before obtaining a licence to practise a private craft. He had no qualifications. The government bodies had a point: after all, the republic had paid for his training as an engineer.

Reinhard spent two years as an apprentice to a potter and a year attending a special course. He passed both the theoretical and practical tests. In 1983 he was allowed to open his own shop provided he passed a craftsman's test (according to the laws of the G.D.R., only a certified craftsman can extend his business by hiring apprentices and pupils). That meant more studying. He had to go through two stages at the district arts-and-crafts academy. Stage A included managerial sciences and stage B practical training. He had to pay for tuition out of his own pocket, 600 marks for the first and 1,500 marks for the second stage. Not everyone made it. Many failed the intermediate exams. The elegant coffee set Keitel presented before the examining board was highly praised.

"What did you live on all this time? Where did you get the money to pay for your training and buy premises?"

"It certainly cost quite a lot. The premises—an old cowshed and a pigsty three kilometres from Weimar which I converted into a shop—cost me 15,000 marks. It was an uphill struggle, but I had saved a bit when I was working as an engineer."

Guessing that I was doing some mental arithmetic, he explained.

"Every citizen in the G.D.R. can do work on the side in his spare time. If the income from this activity is under 3,000 marks a year, you need the permission neither of the local authorities nor of the enterprise that employs you. This income is not taxed. In my evenings and days off I did some building designs on a private basis."

Shoe repair shop sign.

"How is it possible to check that you earn less or more than three thousand?"

"I fill in a tax form at the end of the year. As for checking, I don't see why anyone should want to. We are not just citizens of our republic. We are the republic and we trust each other. Of course, there are exceptions. But you can always tell who lives beyond his means. Though there are people who hoard."

It was getting dark in Weimar. Reinhard was pushing his little Trabant car to the limit to get me to the shop before dark and show me his front garden, a Japanese-style hill, a courtyard paved with tiles and a fish pond in the process of construction.

"It's very beautiful here in summer. You can breathe and think. I love nature and wildlife. Nature and my craft of pottery have something in common."

The evening chill forced us indoors. The shop consisted of two small rooms containing two potter's wheels, a furnace and buckets of clay. On the shelves were finished and half-finished vases, teapots, jars and figurines.

Reinhard has two apprentices: a 17-year-old girl who has just finished secondary school and a 25-year-old man. After completing their apprenticeship they can go on working for him if they wish. The girl gets a government grant and the apprentice, who has another profession besides, is paid by Reinhard 400 marks a month, according to the law, plus 200 marks (no more) for work done. After finishing their apprenticeship they will make 800 marks. This sum is deducted from the shop's turnover and is exempt from taxation.

"How much do you make after tax?"

"At first I made about seven hundred a month. Now that I have pupils, it's about a thousand.

"But that's about 30 per cent less than in your former job."

"Money is not the main thing for me. It may sound pompous, but to me pottery is an art, a means of self-expression."

Reinhard has no problems selling his wares. A lot of people want to buy them. His products are in demand in arts-and-crafts shops which often buy up wholesale (at a 30 per cent discount) everything he has in his shop. There are also buyers from the F.R.G., where such items are far more expensive.

"Well, now I'll show how to do it," Reinhard kneaded the lump of clay, divided it into three parts and sat down at the wheel. "To begin with, the main thing is to get it right in the centre," he added.

He switched on the motor and we saw the clay mass whirl, gradually transforming into a handsome vase between the potter's fingers.

The secret of the traditional Christmas cake Stollen has been handed down from generation to generation.

Services: Private and Government

Is there a connection between a broken tape recorder and a critical attitude to the socialist system? A very close connection, thinks Harold Blume, head of a department with the G.D.R. ministry for local industry, a part of whose duties includes the development of the services sphere.

"If a young lad has to wait a long time to have his favourite toy repaired, he tends to infect the whole social environment with his irritation with the services sphere," says Blume. "And of course labour productivity and attitude to work depend on the services. There are hard statistics to prove that."

That is why the Socialist Unity Party of Germany regards the development of public services as one of the country's priority tasks, socially as well as politically. The 11th Congress of the Party last spring decided to expand the service enterprises and encourage the activity of cooperatives and private businesses. In the current five years their volume will increase by 28 per cent. It is a measure of the role of cooperative and self-employed craftsmen that they now account for two thirds of all repair and other services rendered to the population. There are over 410,000 craftsmen working at 82,000 private enterprises and more than 2,700 craft cooperatives similar to the now forgotten Russian artels.

My conversation with Harold Blume focussed on these two forms of property which coexist with public property in the G.D.R.'s economy.

"We have had private craftsmen since 1945," says Blume. "We proceeded from Lenin's idea of the need for socialism to coexist with the small private businessman, and followed the recommendations of the Soviet military administration. We did not just tolerate private crafts, we encouraged them, especially in those spheres where they benefited the whole economy. Take bakers, for example. You can't have a bakery in every little village. Even if it could be done, it would be uneconomical. Private bakers save the government money and transportation costs. And, let's face it, the private baker makes better bread, if only because it is always fresh as it doesn't have to be brought from any distance. Or take the private shoemaker. He will not only satisfy your order quickly and efficiently, but will give you a lot of useful tips, and you can discuss the weather with him like with a good friend. The private craftsman has no gross production targets, the plan that separates the worker from the customer."

Today, Harold Blume, like other ministry officials in the G.D.R., does not question the economic significance of the self-employed craftsman. Yet there was a time when the phenomenon was frowned upon and the number of private craftsmen was shrinking. The idea was that government enterprises could take care of all the daily needs of the people and put the private craftsman out of business. By the mid-1970s it was clear that the public sector could not handle the job, not yet. From February 12, 1976, the G.D.R. government adopted a series of decisions to promote the private sector in order to improve

public services. Credits were made available and tax regulations were changed. Those private craftsmen who work alone or only with their families and have no hired workers (the law allows up to ten) now pay a fixed tax and keep all the rest. If a craftsman hires workers, he pays a tax which can be as high as 60 per cent of the turnover. Taxation depends on the number of employees, the public importance of the particular craft and some other factors.

In May 1985 a decree was issued on preferential credit facilities for the modernization and expansion of private crafts shops (along with contributions from the owners).

The new incentives offered by the government gave a filip to the private sector. In 1983, for the first time since the 1960s, the number of new licences issued to private craft shops exceeded the number of closures. Today the city has almost 5,000 craftsmen operating their own businesses and employing nearly 20,000 workers. Together with the 160 crafts cooperatives, they account for 70 per cent of the services rendered to the townspeople. Every year, private craftsmen in the G.D.R. capital take on more than 750 apprentices, and the figure for the whole country is close to 30,000.

Nearly half of all the private craftsmen in the G.D.R. (42.1 per cent) run their businesses single-handed or with their families; 19.6 per cent have one hired worker, 18.9 per cent, two or three, 15.6 per cent, 4-8 employees, and 3.8 per cent, 9 or 10.

"The latter category of private craftsmen," says Harold Blume, "naturally have higher incomes, but they are also more heavily taxed. The first two groups enjoy special privileges, assistance from the state and the local authorities.

"Do private craftsmen have difficulty marketing their goods? Who supplies them with raw materials and equipment?"

"We have special supply and sales associations in various fields catering to bakers, shoemakers, stonemasons and so on. For a fee, these associations supply the craftsmen with everything they need. They buy raw materials and equipment from the government and deliver the finished products to the retailer."

"How much can a craftsman afford to pay his workers?"

"The wages in the private sector are roughly the same as in similar government enterprises. The law and the tax system ensure that."

"What about social insurance in the private sector?"

"They are all insured with the G.D.R. Insurance Society, so they are guaranteed sick pay and pensions."

"My final question is, what is their socio-political position in a socialist society?"

"We orient them towards the services sphere. The self-employed craftsman feels himself to be part of socialist society. The same is true of members of the craft cooperative associations that sprang up in the 1950s as a result of the merger of private craft shops."

Harold Blume took me to one such cooperative.

Cooperatives

The craft cooperative Zentrum situated off Friedrichstrasse caters mainly for the inhabitants of the centre of town. It is 28 years old and has 340 members. The cooperative manufactures heaters for export, ignition coils for mopeds, electrical appliances to suit customers' requirements (lift signals, automatic light switches). It repairs TV sets, vacuum cleaners, razors, washing machines and other household appliances. Its turnover is just under 19 million marks a year.

In addition to the main premises where I spoke to Michael Wegener, a member of the board, the cooperative has 19 outlets in the centre of Berlin.

"We work closely with the government repair association which shares part of orders with us," says Wegener. "A division of labour, so to speak. We repair one type of appliance, and the association another type. To save the customer's time, the reception offices are the same. That is to say, the customer does not have to take a broken coffee grinder and a fan to different shops. He brings them to the same place and gets them back at the same place."

A craft cooperative is a socialist enterprise belonging to the collective category of property. It operates under the local council, which sets the volume of its operations (but not the volume of profits) and levies taxes. It is a progressive tax, as for self-employed craftsmen, amounting to between 10 and 60 per cent of the turnover.

But, unlike the private craftsman, the cooperative has less room for manoeuvre in distributing its income. The wages are set by the government and are comparable with wages in government enterprises. In accordance with the model statutes, only half the profits can be used for the social needs of the collective, for cultural events or paid in bonuses which cannot exceed those paid in government enterprises by more than 30 per cent. The state sees to it that the incomes of the cooperative workers are not much higher than those of government workers. The other part of the profits goes to expand production.

"Who supplies the cooperative with spares and equipment?"

"The economic council of Berlin takes our orders," says Wegener. "As a rule, all our requests are met. Recently we got a new computer."

A worker entering the cooperative pays entrance dues in instalments, amounting to two months' earnings. If he leaves the cooperative, he gets the money back. Take-home pay at the Zentrum cooperative is between 750 and 950 marks a month. The cooperative is managed by a board elected every two years by secret ballot.

"How much time does it take to have an appliance repaired at the cooperative?"

"We keep to the time limits fixed by the state: 12 days for a washing machine, 10 days for a television set. Usually, we have it ready earlier. If further repairs are needed through our fault, we do them free of charge, with the worker responsible not getting a pfennig."

* * *

There is much in the crafts sector and the services in the G.D.R. that is deserving of praise. Some valuable experience has been accumulated. At the same time, as the people I spoke to noted, much remains to be done to improve the services sphere and make it more dynamic and efficient. Upon my arrival in Berlin I unpacked my suitcase to discover a stain on my jacket. After trying without success to remove the spot, I took it to the dry cleaner's in the hotel. The attendant shook her head, "Sorry, we can't deal with it for you in the four days before you leave."

I had no time to take the jacket to a private dry cleaning shop in the centre of Berlin. But I have a hunch that they would have been able to do it for me in time.

Weimar—Berlin—Moscow

Here is the first dispatch from our new southern Africa correspondent in Lusaka, Nikolai Reshetnyak

Life in the Frontline Republic

Day breaks at four o'clock in Lusaka. It is the cocks that announce the dawn. Crowing discordantly, they vie with one another almost in the very heart of the city.

Rising at cockcrow, I found the city wide awake. Already women were hurrying to market. On their heads they carried heavily laden baskets with bananas, papaya, maize cobs and other food. They were eager to get the best places before their neighbours did. The watchmen—members of the local guard service—were also already on their feet. Buses passed carrying workers to their factories on the outskirts of the capital.

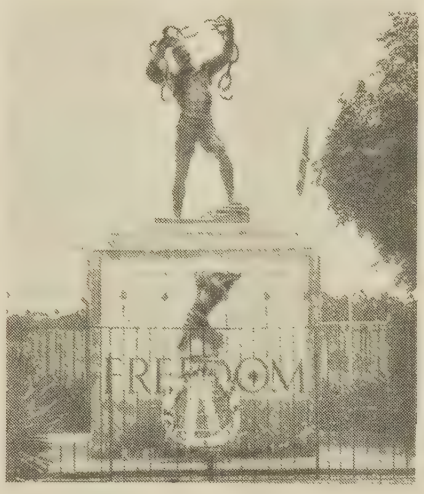
In 1931 the colonial authorities decided to transfer the administrative centre of the protectorate of Northern Rhodesia to Lusaka. In those days it was a small railway junction. Older residents told me that even in the late 1950s the city consisted largely of one- and two-storey houses.

When the independence of the Republic of Zambia was proclaimed on October 24, 1964, an unprecedented construction boom set in. High-rise glass and concrete structures went up. Among them the parliament's building and the Freedom House (the headquarters of the ruling United National Independence Party) are particularly impressive. But the main sights of the city are perhaps the Freedom Statue and the presidential palace.

The city centre is noisy and full of contrasts. Women are clad in gaily-coloured clothes. Wrapped in bright homespun fabrics, they gracefully carry their babies slung over their shoulders on their backs or at their breasts so as to be able to suckle them as they walk.

A neighbourhood of luxury houses buried in verdure, no two alike, have survived since colonial times. They have swimming pools and neatly trimmed English lawns. Before independence only Europeans lived there. Today many of the owners are Africans—diplomats, businessmen, high-standing officials.

The ordinary people live closer to the outskirts, in mud huts. Water and electricity are in short supply there. Like the other major towns in Zambia, particularly those of the copper belt, Lusaka is surrounded by so-called shantytowns, i.e., areas inhabited by homeless people who build shacks from crates and rusty corrugated iron on the outskirts. Zambia is making considerable efforts to solve the housing problem. Every year it builds more than a thousand modern houses. Despite this, there is a serious shortage of housing.



Freedom Statue.

Of all the countries south of the Sahara, Zambia is characterized by the highest level of urbanization. The population of the capital is increasing particularly fast. In 1971 some 250,000 lived in Lusaka. B. Kapulu, a member of the UNIP Central Committee, told me that today the figure is 850,000.

The rapid growth of the population, B. Kapulu went on, is aggravating not only the problem of housing, but also that of food supply. Maize flour is the staple of the Zambian diet. The area round Lusaka produces half a million sacks of it a year (a sack being equivalent to 90 kilogrammes), while the city consumes about two million sacks. The needed million and a half sacks have to be brought in from other areas. When I asked whether anything was being done to control the growth of the urban population, B. Kapulu said:

"The leaders of the country are constantly keeping an eye on this matter. Our policy is to make life more attractive in the rural areas to draw the population from the towns."

The Enemy Is Round the Corner

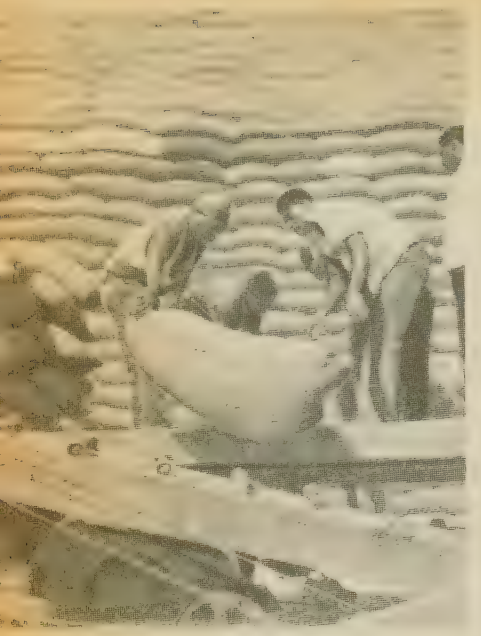
Lusaka does not look like a frontline city. The tenor of life here seems to be as it has always been. However, the wounds inflicted by a South African air raid in May 1986 have not healed. In the centre there is a post office with gaping windows and scarred walls—the result of a bomb. The terrorists planted it in a parcel addressed to a member of the African National Congress of South Africa residing in Lusaka.

Since the attack in May, Pretoria has not stopped its subversive activities. On December 17, 1986, the papers reported the arrest of three South African agents with British, New Zealand and Australian passports. Taking advantage of the discontent caused by a forced rise in maize flour prices, they tried to provoke disorders in the capital. They were also involved in blowing up a flour mill and an electric power plant in Livingstone. On New Year's eve a plot to overthrow the government was revealed. Hatched in Pretoria, it was to have been carried out by a group of junior army officers. However, the plotters were dealt with in time. This shows the lengths South Africa is prepared to go to make Zambia alter its policy towards the racist regime.

Zambia has granted asylum to ANC leaders and other fighters for the freedom of their people. The government unequivocally favours the abolition of apartheid and an end to terrorism.

"Despite hardships and privations, Zambia has always sided with the peoples fighting against colonialism and racism," UNIP General Secretary Alexander Grey Zulu told your correspondent. "It did so when Angola and Mozambique fought for independence against the Portuguese colonialists, and when the people of Zimbabwe rose against the racist white minority regime in what was formerly Southern Rhodesia. And now Zambia is giving determined support to the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa."

Being so near to South Africa, it is not easy to pursue such a course. Yet, I have not heard anyone say that Zambia should abandon its principles.



A bumper maize crop.

Copper Getting Scarce

Like other former colonies, Zambia is being compelled to fight for its economic independence, surmounting the barriers erected by Western monopolies. President Kaunda has explained to the people that the main economic difficulties stem from the low price of copper—the principal export item accounting for more than 95 per cent of the country's hard currency earnings.

To make matters worse, the drop in prices is being accompanied by a decrease in copper production. In 1976 Zambia's copper output was 712,000 tons, while today it is only approximately 500,000 tons. After 50-odd years in operation, many of the fields have been virtually exhausted, and their further development is becoming less and less profitable. The problem is being complicated by a shortage of skilled personnel and modern equipment. Some experts say that the mining industries will continue to play a leading role in the national economy for another 10 or 20 years at the most.

While the prices of Zambian raw materials are falling, the prices of imports from industrial capitalist countries are steadily rising. As a result, Zambia has been forced to cut them. Today imports amount hardly to 50 per cent of the 1974 figure. For this reason many enterprises are being operated at half their capacity, and some have been closed altogether.

Zambia's financial difficulties have exacerbated the problems of its foreign debt, which has exceeded $4.5 billion.

Two years ago President Kaunda announced an "economic crusade" against inflation. To save funds, all new projects have been frozen, the import of cars has been limited and wheat purchases abroad have been cut by 20 per cent. By the end of 1987 it is intended to stop importing rice altogether by growing it in adequate quantities in the southern provinces. Outlays on the maintenance of the government apparatus are also being reduced.

It is being said here that the "economic crusade" has borne fruit, though no radical improvement has been achieved in the economic situation.

Better to Stand on Your Own Feet

The only effective solution in the present situation, President Kaunda has said, is to obtain the necessary funds from the national economy and not from abroad. For this purpose it is necessary to turn farming and the manufacturing industry into key sectors. The ruling party believes that only Zambians, and no one else, can feed, clothe and provide housing for themselves.

To achieve these ends considerable funds are needed to start off with. Where are they to be found? The hope of obtaining a sizable loan from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has proved vain.

Nevertheless, Zambia has made definite progress in achieving self-sufficiency in food. In the mid-1970s the supermarkets were full of commodities and even fruit from South Africa. Today the country grows enough of its own vegetables and fruit. The shops are well stocked with packages of strawberries, tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, greens, and fresh potatoes. Ten- to fifteen-kilogramme watermelons lie on the floor. And there is an abundance of tropical fruits, such as bananas, pineapples and papaya. Nor are locally produced pork and poultry a problem. Despite this, there are still many imported foodstuffs.

Over the last two years the rains have been abundant. The maize harvest has increased. It is hoped that this year there will be even a surplus of maize. Part of this surplus will be stowed away for use in the event of crop failure, and the other part will be exported.

New varieties of maize, sorghum, sunflower, soybean and groundnuts are being developed, and their seeds are being sold to other African countries. In the long term it is intended to export tobacco and cotton. Thus, little by little the UNIP's slogan, "Relying on the country's own resources," is being realized. In Zambia they say it is better to stand on your own feet than on the stilts of foreign aid.

NIKOLAI RESHETNYAK
our own correspondent

Lusaka

At the estimate of the International Monetary Fund, the current and long-term financial liabilities of the developing nations have increased by $48 billion in the past few years and now total $866 billion. At the estimate of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, taking all kinds of liabilities into account, the Third World foreign indebtedness is now in the region of one trillion dollars.

One reason for the slower growth of indebtedness was the fall of the lending rate on the international capital market from 11 per cent in 1984 to 6 per cent by September 1986. However, far from all debtor nations benefited from this fall.

The Debt Noose

The interest payments of the developing nations to their creditors came to $62 billion last year. About $130 billion were transferred from these nations to the centres of world capitalism in the form of payments on interest and the basic debt, and the outflow of profit from direct foreign investment to the tune of close on $10 billion. This is four-odd times the amount of "aid for development" received by Third World nations from the West in 1985.

The critical financial situation of the developing nations impelled transnational bankers to reduce the level of credits extended to them. The chief source of profit for Western creditors is the growth of interest payments which since 1983 have exceeded the sum of new loans. According to the latest data of the U.N. Secretariat, the outflow of private bank capital doubled every year to reach $41 billion by early 1986. Thus, for the fourth year in succession the developing nations have been financial donors to the West.

Foreign indebtedness has become the principal means of exploitation of the Third World by international monopoly capital. Over a quarter of the export earnings of developing nations (more than 46 per cent in a number of Latin American countries) goes to repay the debts, thus making development by their own efforts impossible.

A fresh outburst of the debt crisis was sparked off in 1985 and 1986 by a deterioration of the financial situation in the oil-exporting countries, which now account for nearly a third of the foreign debts of the Third World.

At present, 60 states in Asia, Africa and Latin America, confronted with the

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Continued from the previous issue.

Vicious Circle

In 1986 the foreign debt of the developing nations grew more slowly than in the early 1980s. Nevertheless, the debt stranglehold continues to tighten. The progress of the Third World is also being hindered by the armaments burden imposed on it by the West.

NIKOLAI MARKOV

need to repay debts, are unable to meet their financial liabilities in good time. This compels them to cut public spending, imports and the real incomes of working people. While arresting the inflationary trend, such a policy hinders economic growth and aggravates social problems.

No wonder 1986 saw fierce class battles and widespread strikes in some developing countries, especially in Latin America. No wonder too that these protests by the working people were directed against the attempts of the International Monetary Fund, Western bankers and local oligarchies to service the repayment of foreign debts by keeping down the living standards of the population.

The debt problem has long ceased to be a purely financial one. It calls for political decisions. This was stressed once again at the 12th session of the Council of the Latin American Economic System in Lima last October. "The only way to a global and durable solution of the foreign debt problem," says the final communiqué adopted by the session, "is political dialogue between creditors and debtors based mainly on the principle of joint responsibility and the right to development."

But this dialogue is stubbornly resisted by the imperialist powers, who are reluctant to recognize the right of developing nations to decide themselves what measures to take to improve their financial position. They demand that newly emergent nations privatize publicly-owned plants, open their domestic markets to Western goods, and lift restrictions on the activity of foreign business. The credits extended to developing nations have lately been politically slanted, as evidenced by the IBRD's increased role in the refinancing of their debts. In the past, recipient nations had to satisfy the terms set by the IMF, and today they also have to comply with the terms imposed by the IBRD, which grants long-term loans.

The Arms Burden

The financial and trade difficulties created by the Third World nations' economic dependence on the major capitalist powers and by the neocolonialist model of development are further aggravated by the global problem of ensuring international security.

Of the 100 developing nations for which statistics are available, 69 spent more than 10 per cent of their gross product on armaments in the mid-1980s. In 19 countries military expenditure swallowed up over 20 per cent of their gross product, and in 11 countries over 35 per cent. Instead of buying machines and equipment and meeting the social needs of the people, developing states waste huge sums on the import of armaments.

In the past 20 years the Third World nations have bought weapons and equipment to the value of $222 billion. This is two thirds of the world's import of armaments and over half the financial aid given to them by industrialized states.

Between 1973 and 1980 the Middle East and South Asian countries alone bought 4,000 warplanes, 2,500 tanks and artillery pieces, 22,000 armoured carriers, and 26,000 anti-aircraft missiles. The process of armament was especially rapid in the 1980s in the oil-rich monarchies of the Persian Gulf. In the period 1981-83 Saudi Arabia alone purchased modern types of armament to the sum of about $100 billion.

The import of costly and sophisticated weapons and equipment increases the political dependence of developing nations on imperialist powers, the imbalance in their trade with the West, and their foreign indebtedness. According to U.N. data, the purchase of arms in the West by 20 major debtor nations accounted for a fifth of the growth of their foreign debt between 1976 and 1980. In four countries the purchase of arms accounted for 40 per cent of the growth.

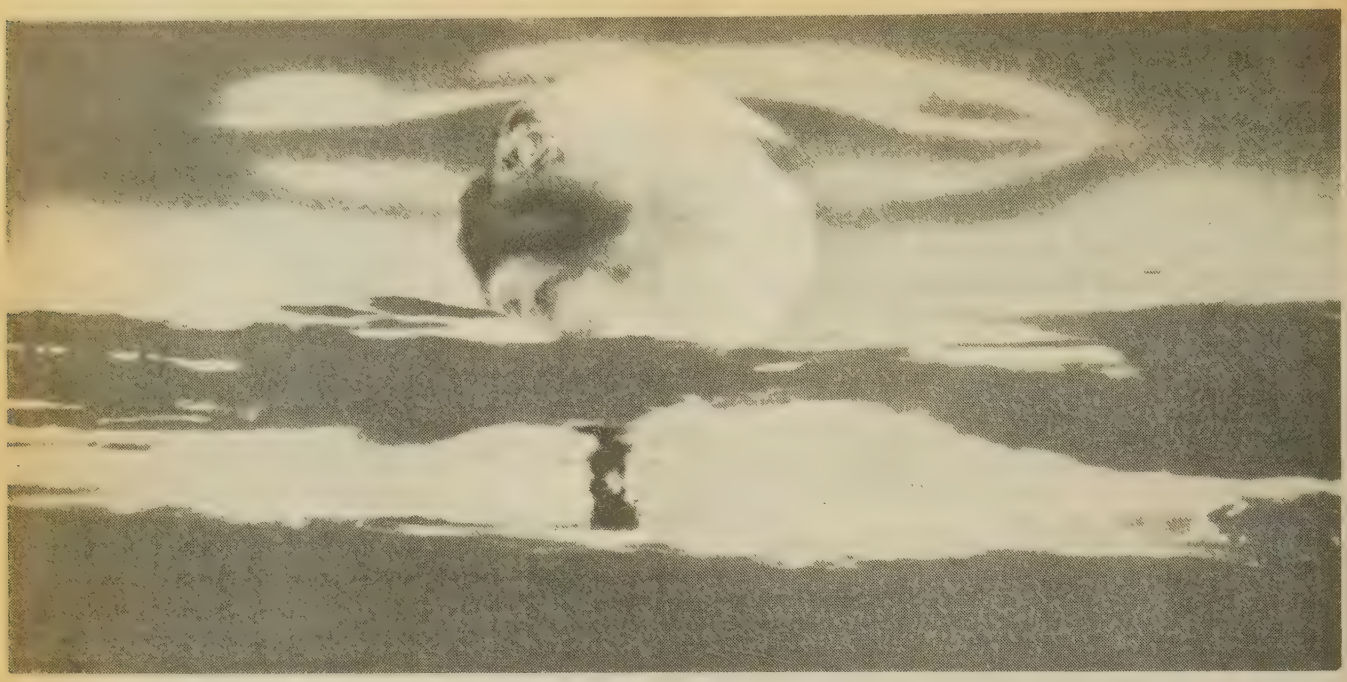
An improvement in the international situation and a reliable system of security in all regions of the Third World have become essential for its economic progress. This was clearly stated by most heads of state and government at the eighth non-aligned nations' summit in Harare last September. The non-aligned nations urged the West to abandon the policy of trade restrictions, blockades, embargoes and the use of force against newly independent states. They censured the United States for its economic boycott of Nicaragua and Libya and favoured a resumption of talks on establishing a just international economic order.

The events of 1986 showed once again that there is a direct connection between disarmament and development. The current socio-economic and financial difficulties can be lessened only through international cooperation, the pooling of efforts by different countries to tackle such an urgent global problem as that of development. ■

THE FOREIGN DEBT AND PAYMENTS OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS
(in billions of dollars)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986*
The debt	502	592	687	730	766	819	866
Payments including:	79	98	110	99	112	113	120
interest	40	54	64	61	68	66	62
principal	39	44	46	38	44	47	58

* estimate



"One of the Most Fateful Decisions of All Time"

That is how Herbert York, one of those who fathered the United States' nuclear weaponry and the adviser on science and military technology to three American presidents, qualified President Harry Truman's decision announced early in 1950 to go ahead with the development of the hydrogen bomb. It is not by chance that the dramatic events of the 1950s come to mind today when international security has, unfortunately, been placed in jeopardy by the decision of the present U.S. President to go ahead with SDI. Essentially it is all part of the same pattern. There is a striking similarity between Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative and what might be called Truman's Strategic Hydrogen Initiative: their results are the exact opposite of the avowed intention—they do not strengthen the security of the U.S. and the rest of mankind, but, on the contrary, lead to a new and a thousand times greater threat. It is this paradox of the spiralling arms race that prompted the author of this documentary, historian Alexei Shaskolsky, to look back to the beginning of the thermonuclear age.

The Pretext

On September 3, 1949, an American reconnaissance aircraft flying east of Kamchatka at an altitude of five and a half kilometres registered an unusually high radiation level in the atmosphere. This abnormality drew the attention first of American experts and—when the cloud spread across America to Britain—of their British counterparts. A special commission set up in the U.S. reached a conclusion that was a shock to the holders of the A-bomb monopoly: the Russians had exploded a bomb. On September 23, a dismayed Truman issued through press secretary Ross a public statement which began thus: "We have evidence that within recent weeks an atomic explosion occurred in the U.S.S.R. . . ."

Opinions as regards the Soviet Union's ability to develop an atomic bomb varied widely. General Groves, chief of the Manhattan Project, opined that it would take the Russians 20 years. "Why," he said, "those people can't even make a jeep!" The President himself later admitted that he had found it hard to believe that "those Asiatics" (as he put it) had produced an atomic bomb. The American scientists took a more sober view, many of them estimated that it would take five years. But they too were mistaken.

"One of the positive effects of this development," Truman was to write in his memoirs, "was to spur our laboratories and our great scientists to make haste on hydrogen bomb research. . . . I believed that anything that would assure us the lead in the field of atomic energy development for defence had to be tried out."

True enough, the American leadership counted on the hydrogen bomb enabling them to regain their unquestioned military superiority. How? As distinct from an atomic explosion which is caused by fission of heavy nuclei, the hydrogen explosion is produced by the fusion of light nuclei to make heavier ones. The reaction takes place at high temperatures. It can be observed by anyone in clear weather night and day

The first American hydrogen bomb was exploded in 1952.

—it is the main source of solar and stellar energy.

As far back as the early 1940s physicists had predicted that the yield of such a bomb, if it could be created, would be a thousand times that of the atom bomb. The normal human mind could not grasp this shocking, dumbfounding arithmetic. But the bomb fully measured up to the requirements of a terror weapon—the criterion being the more terrible the better. Washington, regarding the atom bomb as devalued by the Soviet test, pinned its hopes on the hydrogen superweapon which came to be known as the "super."

Reluctant to shoulder the full responsibility, Truman consulted the scientists. The principal authorities in the nuclear field at the time were the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, headed by David Lilienthal, and its General Advisory Committee under the chairmanship of Robert Oppenheimer. At the end of October 1949, after a week of meetings, the committee submitted a secret report which expressed the unanimous hope that "by one means or another, the development of these weapons can be avoided."

On the basis of this conclusion the Atomic Energy Commission adopted its "Historical Document No. 349," which read in part:

"The General Advisory Committee has considered at great length the question of whether to pursue with high priority the development of the superbomb. No member of the committee was willing to endorse this proposal. The reasons for our views leading to this conclusion stem in large part from the technical nature of the super and of the work necessary to establish it as a weapon.... It is clear that the use of this weapon would bring about the destruction of innumerable human lives; it is not a weapon which can be used exclusively for the destruction of material installations of military or semimilitary purposes. Its use therefore carries much further than the atomic bomb itself the policy of exterminating civilian populations."

Document No. 349 also records the personal opinions of committee members. Oppenheimer, for instance, wrote:

"We all hope that by one means or another the development of these weapons can be avoided. We are all reluctant to see the United States take the initiative in precipitating this development. We are all agreed that it would be wrong at the present moment to commit ourselves to an all-out effort toward its development."

Six members of the committee—James Conant, Hartley Rowe, Cyril Smith, L.A. Dubridge, Oliver Buckley, and also Oppenheimer—went on record:

"The extreme dangers to mankind inherent in the proposal wholly outweigh any military advantage that could come from this development.... We are alarmed as to the possible global effects to the radioactivity generated by the explosion of a few superbombs... A superbomb might become a weapon of genocide.... The existence of a weapon of this type whose power of destruction is essentially unlimited represents a threat to the future of the human race which is intolerable.... We believe a superbomb should never be produced."

Finally, two other members of the committee, Enrico Fermi and Isidor Rabi, gave their opinions:

"Necessarily such a weapon goes far beyond any military objective and enters the range of very great natural catastrophes. By its very nature it ... becomes a weapon which in practical effect is almost one of genocide. It is clear that the use of such a weapon cannot be justified on any ethical ground.... The postwar problems would dwarf the problems which confront us at present... For these reasons we believe it important for the President of the United States to tell the American public, and the world, that we think it wrong on fundamental ethical principles to initiate a program of development of such a weapon."

Fermi and Rabi proposed:

"At the same time, it would be appropriate to invite the nations of the world to join us in a solemn pledge not to proceed in the development or construction of weapons of this category. If such a pledge were accepted, even without control machinery, it appears highly probable that an advanced stage of development leading to a test by another power could be detected by available physical means. Furthermore, we have in our possession, in our stockpile of atomic bombs, the means for adequate 'military' retaliation for the production or use of 'super.'"

A Chance That Was Missed

The sensible proposal advanced by Fermi and Rabi (Oppenheimer shared their view) still offers the optimal solution. But how reminiscent of that situation is the present debate over SDI! The scientists are opposed. But, as was the case three decades ago, Washington, in the hope of gaining military superiority—this time in outer space—refuses to confine itself to laboratory research and is hastening to let the jinn out of the bottle.

Notwithstanding the obvious readiness of the Soviet Union to reach agreement with its Western negotiating partners, the position of the U.S. and its allies has been increasingly bellicose. The nuclear weapon has been presented as the "only way" to prevent the Soviet Union from invading Western Europe (incidentally, the same shopworn thesis is still trotted out to justify the "atomization" of Europe). Stubbornly ignored was the fact that as a result of systematic demobilizations the numerical strength of the Soviet Army had been reduced from 11.4 million men in 1945 to 2.9 million in 1948. Soviet troops were withdrawn from Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Norway, China, Iran and North Korea. Lastly, the Soviet Union met the West halfway on such a sensitive issue as arms control. At the Third U.N. General Assembly in 1948 the U.S.S.R. proposed banning the atomic weapon and at the same time establishing control over the observance of the ban. This package did not suit the West: so long as the West was the stronger, control was conceivable, but a ban was out of the question. The Soviet proposal was rejected.

George Kennan, one of the architects of American postwar policy, proponent of the idea of "containment" of communism, the first strategic cold-war doctrine—recalls in his memoirs a memorandum he sent to Secretary of State Dean Acheson. Kennan, strongly opposed to the development of the superbomb, wrote:

"...there is no victory and no security to be won for our people by the sort of destruction these weapons were capable of working. The results they could produce would mean at best only a deterioration of the conditions of civilization for people everywhere, including ourselves."

But the common sense contained in these recommendations had to contend, against overwhelming odds, with the view which by the end of 1949 had become firmly established among the brass hats and Congress. At that time, just as now, 30 years later, those who relied on power politics and not the power of politics acted far more vigorously and persistently.

The "Thermonuclear Lobby" on the Warpath

Alas, far from all scientists realized the threat contained in the new round of the technology of superkill. The most energetic of the superbomb lobby were

three prominent nuclear physicists: Edward Teller, Ernest Lawrence and Luis Alvarez. Their prime argument was ingenuously formulated by Lawrence: the function of the scientist is to create new knowledge and new technology, and what is done with them is the responsibility of the politicians. In February 1950 Edward Teller wrote in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists:

"The scientist is not responsible for the laws of nature. It is his job to find out how these laws operate. It is the scientist's job to find out the ways in which these laws can serve the human will.... It is not the scientist's job to determine whether a hydrogen bomb should be constructed, whether it should be used, or how it should be used. This responsibility rests with the American people and with their chosen representatives."

Such a scientific ethic is inacceptable in our time—the scientist has no right to evade responsibility for the lethal jinn he releases from the bottle (be it the "superbomb" of the 1950s or lasers for "star wars" today). The great Einstein enjoined the scientists always to remember that concern for man and his future must be the principal objective in science; they must never let their blueprints and equations blind them to goal. Teller ignored this counsel then, and he is ignoring it today.

The evil genius of the arms buildup, Teller has not become more temperate with age; he is now one of the fathers of "star wars." Prior to Reagan's notorious speech on March 23, 1983, in which he announced the SDI programme, Teller had four "astral" talks with the President. The megadeath apologist urged the White House incumbent to seek salvation from Russian missiles in the skies. He gave a particularly eloquent description of the virtues of the "third-generation" nuclear weapon—primarily an X-ray laser powered by a nuclear explosion.

Unlike the over-gentle opponents of the Super project, its proponents went all out. On Capitol Hill, Senator Brien McMahon, chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, was among the most rabid thermonuclear advocates. His admiration for the overkill weapon was expressed in his description of Hiroshima as "the greatest event in world history since the birth of Jesus Christ." Frightening the legislators with the thermonuclear variant of the "Russian threat," McMahon loosed on the doubters a barrage of apocalyptical visions of the nightmarish prospect: "Total power in the hands of total evil will equal total destruction." Not only McMahon, but also Acheson soon began to describe the difference between East and West as the difference between absolute evil and absolute virtue. An incantation that was to be repeated in the 1980s by the initiators of a new crusade.

Seven Minutes

The final recommendation to the President of the expediency of developing the superbomb was submitted by a special commission of the National Security Council set up for the purpose. It consisted of Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Defence Secretary Louis Johnson and Atomic Energy Commission chairman David Lilienthal. The commission met twice: on December 22, 1949, and on January 31, 1950. Of the three men, only Lilienthal tried somehow to prevent a drift to a thermonuclear arms race. However, his irresolution and inconsistency enabled the thermonuclear enthusiasts to win the day. After affixing his signature to a document arguing the need for a hydrogen weapon, Lilienthal reserved the right to submit his dissenting opinion to the President. He said he felt that America's future and the destiny of mankind would be affected by the decision to develop the bomb.

In the afternoon of January 31, Acheson, Johnson and Lilienthal, accompanied by Admiral Sidney Souers from the National Security Council, arrived at the White House. Their meeting with the President took exactly seven minutes. Truman was only interested in their main conclusion. Without reading any of the arguments, he signed the document. Lilienthal, who started to state his dissenting opinion, was interrupted by the President:

"Can the Russians make it?" Truman wanted to know.

All three nodded in silence.

"In that case we have no choice." Later historians established that the President had made his choice two or three weeks earlier.

On February 1 the New York Times came out with banner headlines: "Truman Orders Hydrogen Bomb Built." "Historic Decision. President Says He Must Defend Nation Against Possible Aggressor." Congress applauded. The few sober voices were drowned in the wave of "hydrogen enthusiasm." In a speech over television—that technological novelty had already invaded American homes—the great Einstein spoke with anxiety. He warned that if the priority development of the hydrogen bomb solemnly proclaimed by the President were successful the radioactive contamination of the atmosphere and consequently the destruction of all life on earth would become a technical possibility. This fatal outcome was inherent in the very nature of the phenomenon itself, he said. Each new step would inevitably be followed by another. And in the end this would lead to total annihilation.

In the campaign to push through the superbomb there emerged a feature that was to serve as the standard argument in the arms buildup—the thesis of the weakness, the inadequacy of America's defences and the existing (or imminent) danger presented by one or another type of Soviet weapon. The military (even in defiance of intelligence information) persistently worked to persuade Truman that America was not powerful enough. In the three weeks preceding the President's decision, the Joint Chiefs of Staff had on three occasions impressed it on Truman that to refrain from producing the new weapons would be "disastrous." A seasoned politician, the President was well aware of the weight carried by the war department and the powerful forces of the arms monopolies behind it.

Edward Teller, father of the hydrogen bomb, now an ardent advocate of SDI.

Photo from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

Insidious Methods

Truman was the first American President to become captive to the "Soviet threat" myth. The "hydrogen variant" of that myth was now the order of the day. In February 1950 Brigadier General Loper drew up a memorandum in which he advanced the assumption that the Soviet Union could secretly start production of a nuclear weapon and catch up with the United States. Loper surmised that the Soviet Union might already be making a hydrogen bomb. The over-vigilant general did admit that these assumptions could well belong to the realm of fantasy, but did not advise dismissing them offhand. Both Defence Secretary Johnson and President Truman closed their eyes to the fantastic nature of the general's suggestions. On March 10 the President endorsed the National Security Council recommendation to regard the programme for the development of the

thermonuclear weapon as a top-priority task.

Although for Truman this was only another concession to the pressure exerted by the military lobby, the acceptance on faith of the possibility of the Soviet Union outstripping the U.S. marked the beginning of a new stage in American military thinking. The nuclear arms race thus got off to a start on a false premise—the dreaded possibility of Soviet superiority. In the mid-1950s the bogey was the "bomber lag" and in the late 1950s, it was "the missile lag." Although the figures cited for the number of Soviet bombers were 3-4 times higher than the actual number, and of missiles, 15-20 times higher, the Pentagon built armadas of strategic bombers and was the first to start the mass deployment of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The fabrication of myths to spur the arms buildup is an amazing phenomenon. In a lecture delivered in our time on his favourite theme of the military superiority of the treacherous Russians planning to attack the defenceless West, Teller said without batting an eyelid: "The kind of statement that I made is not easily proven, in fact, such statements may be unprovable." Yet, the Pentagon's policy is based on such unprovable statements.

The Foresight of H.G. Wells

The superweapon buildup undertaken by the United States picked up speed. The thermonuclear principle was first tested by the Americans on May 8, 1951, exactly six years after the victory over the common enemy in World War II. America tested a superweapon intended for use against its loyal ally in the anti-Hitler coalition. The possibility of creating a superbomb was demonstrated: on November 1, 1952, a huge explosive device occupying a whole building was set off. In March 1954, a bomb that could be delivered by an aircraft was exploded, and finally, in May 1956 the superbomb was first dropped from a plane. But by this time the Americans no longer had the monopoly on the hydrogen bomb. The Soviet statement of August 8, 1953, made this quite clear.

Hans Bethe, an outstanding atomic physicist, wrote in 1954:

"Once we announced that we would go ahead, the Russians clearly had no choice but to do the same. In the field of atomic weapons, we have called the tune since the end of the war, both in quality and in quantity. Russia has to follow the tune or be a second-class power."

In general he believed that the creation of the hydrogen bomb was unfortunate. He was still convinced that the possibility of concluding an agreement with Russia not to create the bomb should have been studied.

Today this patriarch of American physicists and Nobel Prize winner is confident that it is impossible to create a reliable anti-missile defence system. Most of his colleagues agree with him. A poll taken among members of the National Academy of Sciences showed them to be 8:1 opposed to SDI.

The lesson taught by the story of the superbomb, a lesson the White House has not learned, consists also in the fact that progress in military technology cannot resolve the problem of security. The super of the day before yesterday and the SDI of today and tomorrow are clearly obstacles to the safeguarding of genuine national security, which depends on political, not military solutions. Disregard for political and diplomatic avenues and preoccupation with military technology is a manifestation of fallacious thinking at government level, a thinking intolerable in the nuclear and space age. Incredibly enough, this contradiction was foreseen as far back as 1914 by the great English writer of fantasy H.G. Wells. Giving a dramatic description of the coming of the atomic age in the middle of our century, he predicted a deep, fantastic gulf between scientific, intellectual development, on the one hand, and the world of lawmakers and politicians, on the other.

He actually envisioned (in 1914!) the advent of the atom bomb which, he said, would make war impossible. On the eve of the first world war he wrote that throughout the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries the quantity of energy man could control had constantly increased. As applied to war, this meant a steady growth of destructive power. On the other hand, safeguards against destruction had not increased. Any form of passive defence, armour plating, fortifications and the like were nullified by this tremendous growth of destructive power. Everyone knew, he wrote, that a man could carry in his portfolio a hidden charge of energy sufficient to destroy half of a city. This was clear to all. Nevertheless the world continued to play the fool, brandishing weapons and flirting with war.

Why is it that a truth perceived by a writer at the beginning of the century has not been grasped today, when the century is on the wane, by the president of a great power?

We began this article with a phrase from Herbert York's book on the development of the superbomb. Let us end it with this passage from the same book: "It seems clear that if humanity is to survive, those who seek first to slow and stop the arms race and then to reverse it must succeed before there is too much more technological 'progress' of the kind described in this book."

ALEXEI SHASKOLSKY

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

PIERRE AUBERT

Pierre Aubert was elected President of the Swiss Confederation for 1987 by the Swiss Federal Assembly (parliament) on December 10, 1986. (Under the Swiss Constitution, the Federal Assembly elects the President of the country annually from among the federal counsellors—cabinet members.) In his new capacity, Pierre Aubert will remain head of the Federal Department for Foreign Affairs, the post he has held since February 1978.

Born on March 3, 1927, Pierre Aubert graduated from the University of Neuchâtel. He holds a doctorate in law.

In 1958 Pierre Aubert joined the Social Democratic Party and promptly gained considerable influence in it.

In the sixties he was a member and, later, chairman of the municipal council of La Chaux-de-Fonds. Pierre Aubert was repeatedly elected member of the Neuchâtel cantonal parliament. In 1969-70 he was a member of the Council of States and since December 1977 he has been a member of the Swiss Federal Council, of which he was elected vice-president for 1982 and 1986. In 1983 he was president of the country.

Pierre Aubert favours the relaxation of international tension between East and West through confidence-building measures and negotiations on arms reduction. He emphasizes the need to free Europe of nuclear weapons, stands for the broadening of Switzerland's international political and economic contacts, and a more active involvement in world affairs.

Pierre Aubert has been repeatedly to the Soviet Union. In September 1986 he paid an official visit in the course of which he came out in favour of the maintenance and broadening of Soviet-Swiss relations in various spheres.

Tokyo's Showcase

From our own correspondent
YURI TAVROVSKY

Viewed from the top of the 60-storey Sunshine City skyscraper, Tokyo resembles the delta of a great river. The fiery streams of motorways skirt the dimly illuminated islands of residential areas and interconnect the iridescent pools of night-life districts and shopping centres. The famous Ginza stands out distinctly against this sparkling backdrop.

A world-famous shopping street, the Ginza, is a symbol of Tokyo and, to some extent, of all Japan. It owes its name to a silver-coining mint that belonged to the shoguns, the rulers of Japan. Another mint, the Kinza, stood where the National Bank is now; it made gold coins. Initially the Ginza, the English for which is the Silver Yard, was a tract of drained land given over to artisans' settlements.

The Ginza might well have remained overshadowed by the thriving market district of Nihonbashi adjacent to it were it not for the famous Ginza fire of 1872. By that time the reign of the Tokugawa dynasty of military rulers (shoguns) had come to an end, and so had the 300-year period of Japanese isolationism. On one of the first delegations to go overseas was the Mayor of Tokyo, as the new Japanese capital—formerly the city of Edo—came to be known. London made an indelible impression on the Mayor. Returning home, he decided to build a model street, lined with brick houses, to replace the fire-gutted Ginza.

The decision marked the first move towards not only a fireproof but also a "more civilized" capital of the country, which had made a bid to catch up with the West. The English architect who was commissioned to do the job built an array of two-storey red brick houses stretching for about half of the street's 1,200-m length.

The soulless brick façades were livened up somewhat by a railway connecting the port of Yokohama, now open to foreigners, and the Shimbashi junction located at the south end of the Ginza. Shops selling curiosities brought in from other parts of the world began to spring up next to the famous geisha district and two popular bazaars. This mixture of tradition and modernity, concentrated in a comparatively small part of town made Shimbashi-Ginza a magnet for the young, and drew idle crowds from all over Tokyo. It was then that the now almost ritualistic gimbura (Ginza roaming) began.

By day most of business was done by large stores at fixed prices, and in the evening yomise peddlers poured in, shouting their wares. By the light of acetylene lamps, they did a brisk trade in all sorts of things, cheap imitations of foreign-made goods included.

The "golden age" lasted only five decades, from one great disaster to the next. The earthquake and fires of 1923, which left almost all of Tokyo in smouldering ruins, did not spare the Ginza. Its brick and stone houses suffered little from the underground tremors, but they were devoured by the raging flames. The wooden-block pavement on which the first automobiles had appeared shortly before the calamity was reduced to ashes. Old people in Tokyo say that the brick-and-concrete Ginza, rebuilt within a few years after the earthquake, lost a great deal of its predecessor's unique charm. The last vestiges of the freedom-loving and carefree (sometimes defiantly so) "Edo spirit" which pervaded the atmosphere of the Silver Yard's bystreets, perished with the establishment of the military-fascist dictatorship in the early thirties. Trade and entertainment were clamped down on, police and the omnipotent kempeitai gendarmerie saw to it that the puritanical-nationalist norms of behaviour were observed. Then came the war which ended for the Ginza in catastrophic bombings and fires in the spring of 1945.

Vanity Fair

What is the Ginza like today?

The administrative part of the Ginza consists of eight neighbourhoods which, like eight pieces of shashlik, are skewered by two thoroughfares—the Ginza Dori and the Showa Dori, which runs parallel to it. The bounds of the Greater Ginza are sharply outlined by the overhead expressways that line it on four sides. In the middle, the Ginza district is cleft by the Harumi Dori leading from the imperial palace to the artificial islands of Tokyo Bay with their shipyards, passenger moorage and the International Trade Centre exhibition pavilion. Streets as straight as these—although not nearly as wide—separate the rectangular blocks of about identical size the entire Ginza district is made up of. The blocks comprise closely-spaced four- to ten-storey concrete houses differing from one another only in signs and advertisement posters.

As a street, the Ginza proper resembles an enormous shopwindow.

This is the impression one gets as one strolls along the Ginza and looks into some of its 200 general stores and shops, which are famous throughout Japan. Why a shopwindow? If only because shopwindows are the most memorable sights there. Their displays, created by outstanding designers and advertising experts, are changed from season to season. The unsurpassed colour schemes Japanese art has always been noted for, boundless ingenuity, elements of folk arts and crafts, the bold use of animated figures, lasers, holography and other marvels of modern technology—all this gives it dramatic visual appeal.

The art of window-dressing and interior decoration in shops has become a thriving industry in its own right, and is gaining a confident foothold on for-

This tree at the entrance to a Tokyo hotel is made of metal.

eign markets. Japanese designers get commissions from dozens of countries round the world.

Inside, the shops are as stylishly designed besides being well stocked. But one cannot help wondering why elegantly-uniformed, sweetly smiling and incessantly bowing salesclerks of both sexes sometimes outnumber clients. The explanation lies in the exorbitant prices. Even odds and ends are fairly expensive: a penknife, for instance, costs 13,500 yen (1,000 yen equal 4 rubles 22 kopeks); a tube of lipstick 9,000 yen; a filter for Tokyo's

The Ginza: a riot of advertisements.

TASS photo

none-too-pure running water, 6,500 yen. On the floors given over to European clothes one can often see price tags with six-digit figures. A man's coat costs 150,000; a three-piece suit, 100,000; a lady's dress, 170,000 yen.

On its eighth floor, the Mitsukoshi general store sells kimonos. The gorgeous attires of famous yuzen Kyoto silk are stretched on special frame hangers to display their splendid colours and exquisite designs to the best advantage. There was not a soul in sight, except a bored salesgirl. Although I (a male and a foreigner to boot) was an unlikely sales prospect, she flashed me a smile, said "Welcome!" and gave me her full attention.

I commented on the design of a dress kimono as an opener, and then changed the subject to prices. "Oh, the prices are quite high," Yamamoto-san agreed with me, "but if you find 250,000-300,000 yen too much, look at some cheaper kimonos here. This cream-coloured one for casual wear costs 150,000. Some may think this not much of a price, but I can't afford it. If I go on a starvation diet, my monthly wage will just buy me a kimono like this, or an obi (the long belt worn with a kimono). I am very fond of our national clothes and enjoy working in this department. But I have not a single kimono as smart as these."

Even for a modern Japanese woman a kimono is de rigueur. Nevertheless, there are things that are more necessary. In the shoe department of the same Mitsukoshi store, a couple of floors below the kimonos, I saw price tags for 10,000, 15,000, 25,000, 30,000 yen. Four salesgirls danced attendance on a solitary female customer. I waited till the end of the longish procedure, approached the lady, an elderly matron clad in a severe black suit, and asked her to comment on the prices. Mrs. Endo told me she had come over from Sendai for the funeral of her elder brother, and decided, after it was all over, to buy her daughter a wedding gift on the Ginza. "I wouldn't dream of buying myself a pair of shoes for 28,000 yen. But we've got only one daughter, and we want her to have the best that money can buy—something from the Ginza—for her wedding."

As I went down from floor to floor and walked around the departments, I saw long sequences of noughts whichever way I looked. They appeared on price tags attached to furniture suites, tea and dinner sets of European and Japanese makes, stereo and video systems, electronic toys and food cans.

In the Matsuzakaya, Matsuya and Mitsukoshi department stores, which set the tone (and the prices) on the Ginza, one feels like a visitor to a museum, a special kind of museum which might be called a museum of Japanese material culture or a showcase of consumer society. It would be best described, however, as a vanity fair: the overwhelming majority of buyers pay astronomical sums not merely for a commodity, but for a package bearing the name of a prestigious nationally renowned store. One of them, Takashimaya for instance, annually spends 110 million yen on wrapping paper and another 170 million on shopping bags bearing its name.

Buying Sprees

Prestige and status are the coins minted in the Silver Yard today. On one of the occasions which call for exchanging gifts, my landlady gave me an umbrella. I opened it and made a polite little speech on how wonderful the umbrella was and what a hard time I would have had without it in Tokyo weather. I sinned by omission, as the landlady herself repeatedly pointed out to me by stressing that what really mattered was not the umbrella as such but the fact that it had been purchased on the Ginza, from Mitsukoshi. By paying three or four times the regular price of the thing she expressed her respect for a tenant of many years' standing whom she expected to stay on.

Being able to afford to shop on the Ginza has long become a criterion of belonging to the middle class. To walk past a staring neighbour with a prestige-name plastic bag dangling from your arm means to show off the well-being of your family which has made the much-coveted middle-class bracket. A status symbol like this is worth working without leave, putting in 300 to 400 hours more than your American or European counterpart a year, living in a "rabbit-hutch" flat, paying more than a third of your monthly wage in rent, and having your wife make an extra yen in a nearby supermarket.

True, shrewd Japanese housewives know how to shop in the Ginza without making too deep inroads into their tight family budgets. They wait for the periodic clearance sales when shopworn and outmoded stock is sold off at 20 to 50 per cent discount.

In order to win customers, larger department stores resort to all sorts of ploys: for example, suddenly cutting the price of a product down to half (in which case it sells off in minutes), or offering customers a "pig in a poke" on the off chance that it proves a surprising bargain.

Waiting for sales or chasing bargains takes a lot of time, often days and days. Women crowd into the Ginza from all corners of the huge city every morning and wait for the department

stores to open, in tense silence. If a sale is announced, they forget all about Japanese ceremony and elbow their way in.

Toys for Kids and Adults

Whereas big department stores resemble museums because of the exorbitant prices they charge for their merchandise, the remaining "old curiousity shops" dating back to the Edo of old are museums, to all intents and purposes.

Take the Beishu shop, for instance, specializing in miniature dolls. It is a regular museum of traditional Japanese toys which, in the world of Japanese children, are quite at home with robots, tanks and self-propelled monsters.

The shop's display varies practically every other month. The figures of seven good-luck deities sitting on a "treasure ship" disappear after the New Year. Until March 3, which is the little girls' "doll festival," the shelves are crowded with tiny ladies-in-waiting, princes, ancient musical instruments and traditional furniture. May 5 is the boys' festival, and with it come figurines of famous warriors and historical personages of the past. Toy samurai coats of arms are popular.

Another Ginza shop specializes in miniature "toys" of a different kind. The Koni Electronics company, only a few years old, offers a large choice of bugging devices intended for jealous lovers, amateur sleuths and, in particular, for those engaged in industrial espionage. The shop, which has become one of the Ginza's chief attractions virtually overnight, is doing a roaring trade. You can buy a bug detector for 100,000 yen or a pair of glasses affording a clear view of any inscription in total darkness within a radius of 30 metres (3.5 million yen).

Who is rich enough to patronize the Ginza's shops? Certainly not a salesgirl or a bank clerk earning 100,000-150,000 yen a month, a young worker (130,000-180,000), an old-age pensioner compelled to draw on his savings, and not even an engineer employed by a prosperous company (300,000-400,000 yen a month).

At Whose Expense?

The Ginza is not only a street of glittering shopwindows. Just turn off it, and you'll find yourself in a different Ginza, a Ginza of narrow, winding streets, countless bars, restaurants, cafés, cabarets and night clubs. In the daytime only very few of them hang out the noren—a short door curtain bearing the hieroglyphed name of the establishment and inviting custom.

This is the night-life Ginza. Its business is mizu shobai (literally "water trade")—selling liquor and the amusements that go with it. This Ginza comes to life in the evening, after the big stores and offices close down. The 3,000 entertainment venues turn on their neon signs. Tramps are bribed to stay away for the night. Waiters in impeccable tailcoats and women in expensive kimonos sweep and sprinkle the pavement in front of the entrance, hang out a noren or a red Chinese lantern advertising the masterpieces of the chef. A little later, the streets, narrow as they are, fill up with cars parked bumper-to-bumper, and groups of pleasure-seeking men in severe business suits begin pub crawling.

In Japan people are not averse to mixing business with pleasure. Business relations are always based on personal contacts, acquaintanceships and mutual "good turns." Contracts are signed at offices but negotiated at a restaurant table, as a rule, between drinks and chats with geyshas (who are, incidentally, giving way to "hostesses").

A Japanese businessman seldom asks a partner to his home. After all, you can't very well invite a near-stranger to your rabbit-hutch of a flat two or three hours ride by metro, bus or train from central Tokyo. Here money is also an important consideration. The expenses involved in holding a business meeting at home have to be paid from the family budget, while restaurant bills are footed by the company in whose name the deal is negotiated. This explains why the thrifty sarariman, as salaried white-collar workers call themselves, turn into spendthrifts as soon as they cross the threshold of a bar.

A night out in Ginza costs a pretty penny. Just a glass of cold water and a hot napkin will start your bill at 30,000-50,000 yen, and a bottle of whisky or brandy will run it up by about 100,000 and 400,000 yen, respectively.

Enormous sums are spent on business negotiations in Japan from year to year. In 1985, for instance, the figure amounted to 3,600 billion, meaning that 10 billion yen were drunk every day or rather every night. This boundless generosity of the companies which haggle with the trade unions over every yen of a wage rise is easy to explain. What a company spends on business talks creates its image, is untaxed and looked upon as a form of overhead expenses. True, some years ago the Finance Ministry officials, racking their brains for a way to replenish the fisc, imposed a tax on some of these expenses—which, nevertheless, still constitute a fifth of some companies' outlays.

A Worn-Out Kimono?

At first glance, nothing has hitherto threatened night-life Ginza—it rests on the solid foundation of one of the Japanese business world's cardinal principles: "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours." Still, bar and night-club proprietors are beginning to worry about the same problem that bedevils the owners of the daytime Ginza. The average age of the customers is going up, and is already double that of rival districts' clientele. Young people can no longer afford the Ginza. What is to be done lest the famous street—the showcase of Tokyo—share the fate of a once beautiful but worn-out kimono locked up in a chest and completely forgotten?

On weekends and holidays the Ginza is now a "pedestrians' paradize." The opening in 1984 of three big new department stores, which not only cater to different tastes but also charge prices within middle-aged and young buyers' means has somewhat quickened the Ginza's business pulse.

Great hopes are pinned on a plan submitted by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, which suggests that a new, underground Ginza be built. The metro route passing right under the main street of the Silver Yard is to be sunk to a lower level, and the tunnels thus made available are to accommodate an underground shopping centre. Moreover, it is proposed that the monorail connecting Tokyo with Haneda airport—a hub of domestic air routes—be extended all the way to the Ginza, the idea being to attract provincials who come to do some shopping.

Most owners of the Ginza's emporiums and night-life attractions are enthusiastic about the "21st-century Ginza" plan, but the inevitable question of who is going to meet the expenses involved—400 billion yen—dampens this enthusiasm. The city fathers and the government are calling on the private sector to "display its vitality and energy." For its part, the private sector is reminding the authorities of the responsibility they bear for the state of Tokyo's—and Japan's—showcase.

Tokyo

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- X-ray expert A. Vasilyeva and restorer M. Sakhnova working on Bronzino's "The Holy Family."
- B. Sergeyev, restoration artist.
- A new "patient" on the operating table.

TASS photos

Bringing Masterpieces Back to Life

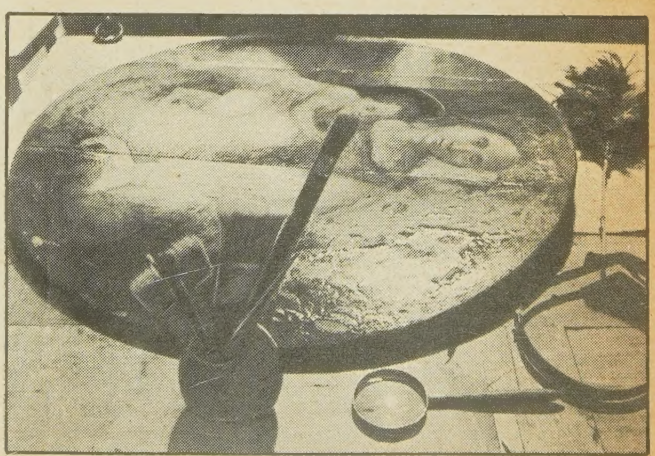
"Visit our museum more often," says Gleb Karlsen. "You will always find something new." The senior restoration expert of the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts was speaking not of the museum's new acquisitions, but of time-ravaged paintings that had been restored.

"Every year we restore some 20 or 30 pictures," he went on. "True, sometimes we have to work a whole year on a single canvass. Look at this," Karlsen pointed to a picture on a biblical theme. "This is 'The Holy Family' by the Italian 16th-century artist Bronzino. It was originally painted on wood, but about 100 years ago was transferred to canvass. This was done by shaving off the wood backing down to the fine, fragile ground. The painting was seriously damaged in the process. It had been touched up and added to. Our task was to nurse it back to life. The X-ray people worked on it first, revealing the various accretions and 'corrections' it had undergone. Then began the delicate painstaking job of removing the extraneous matter without damaging the original."

The restoration department of the museum has existed for nearly half a century now. In this time hundreds of pictures requiring relatively simple treatment have been restored. But a great many have involved highly complicated operations.

The museum's collection of the work of the great masters —Rembrandt, Rubens, Van Dyck, Corot, Ingres, Degas, Manet, Van Gogh, Picasso and others—is under the constant observation of the restoration experts. They have earned the undying gratitude of art lovers.

D. ZGERSKY



INTERNATIONAL
CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND

Jan Eisenmann (Czechoslovakia)

Photos from the series "Morocco Children"

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ